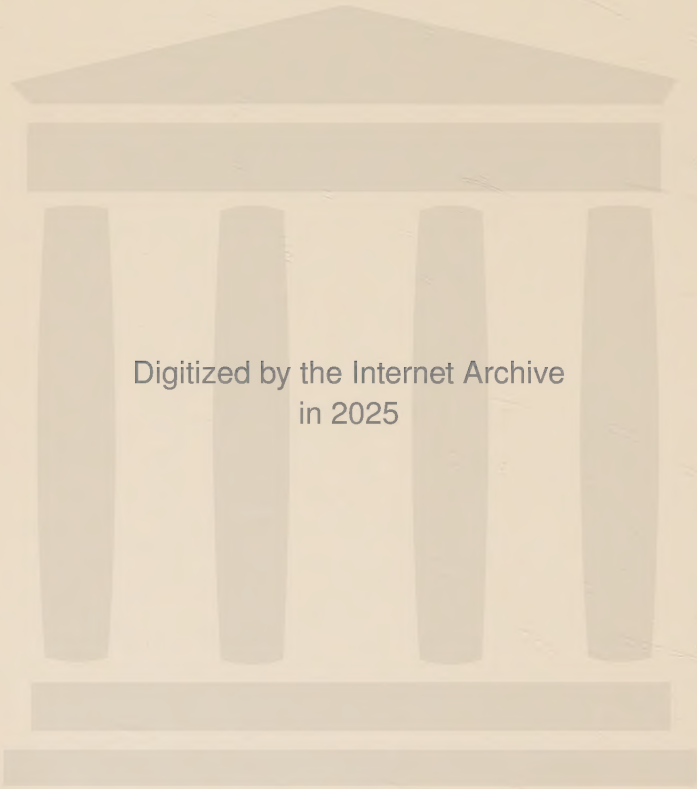
BURT FRANKLIN BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND REFERENCE SERIES No. 32

BIBLIOTHECA WIFFENIANA.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BIBLIOTHECA WIFFENIANA.

SPANISH REFORMERS

OF TWO CENTURIES

FROM 1520.

THEIR LIVES AND WRITINGS,
ACCORDING TO THE LATE BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN'S PLAN
AND WITH THE USE OF HIS MATERIALS

DESCRIBED BY

EDWARD BOEHMER

FIRST VOLUME

WITH B. B. WIFFEN'S NARRATIVE
OF THE INCIDENTS ATTENDANT UPON THE REPUBLICATION OF
REFORMISTAS ANTIGUOS ESPAÑOLES

AND

WITH A MEMOIR OF B. B. WIFFEN BY ISALINE WIFFEN.

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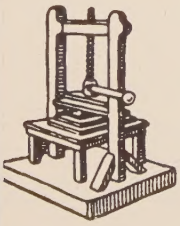

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TO

JOHN T. BETTS

OF PEMBURY, TUNBRIDGE WELLS,

TRANSLATOR OF VALDÉS' HUNDRED AND TEN CONSIDERATIONS
AND OF CONSTANTINO'S CONFESSION OF A SINNER,

AND TO HIS WIFE

MARIA BETTS,

WHO BOTH CAUSED THIS WORK TO BE UNDERTAKEN, AND ZEALOUSLY PROMOTED
ITS EXECUTION AND PUBLICATION,

DEDICATED BY

DR. BOEHMER.

341262

Johann Gottfried Lessing de fidei confessione quam Protestantes Hispania ejecti Londini 1559 ediderunt, *Lps. 1730, § 17:*

Historia reformationis non paucis defectibus laborat. Insigni igitur utilitate, quamvis multo labore, historiam Hispanorum Protestantium prolixiorem conscribi posse, mihi certe persuadeo. Quamvis enim libri hujus commatis rarissimi esse soleant, ex rivulis tamen, si non fontibus, hinc et inde latentibus, nonnulla meo quidem judicio deduci possent quae non contemnendam lucem historiae reformationis universali affundere posse in propatulo est.

PREFACE.

For many years the late Benjamin Barron Wiffen entertained the hope that his friend Don Luis de Usóz i Rio would compile a manual of the lives and works of the Spanish Reformers from the time of Erasmus, a labour which he knew that his scholarly friend was better able to carry out than himself; and being by their great mutual attachment encouraged to cherish this hope, he for years collected materials, biographical and literary, which he contemplated placing at his friend's disposal. With Don Luis' death, which occurred in 1865, Wiffen's hope was blighted, and the further prospect of the publication of such a work as he desired, depended thenceforth upon himself, he being at that time upwards of seventy years of age. A few years previously Wiffen had made the acquaintance of M^r^. and M^rs^ Betts of Pembury whose companionship and sympathy with the work did much to keep the subject alive in his thoughts, and from time to time they pressed it upon him. They frequently lived and worked under the same roof with him, and however much increasing infirmity may at times have made him shrink from undertaking a labour which could appear formidable to a scholar in his prime, it nevertheless resulted in the preparation by him, during the two years which intervened between Don Luis' and his own decease, of considerable material for the present work.

In July 1868 M^rs^ Betts asked me by letter, whether I would assist in preparing for the press our friend's title-pages of the works of the Spanish Reformers, together with their memoirs. Some weeks later M^r^ and M^rs^ Betts were at Halle, and in November my wife and I following their kind invitation staid with them at Pembury. In the quiet study of their hospitable home, I found Wiffen's manuscripts and a great many of his books ready for my perusal. An opportunity of

inspecting the other and that the greater part of Wiffen's library was afforded me by the kindness of M^r^ Theodore Harris at Leighton Buzzard, with whom I had the great pleasure to stay some days. To him and to his partner M^r^ Francis Basset, Wiffen had left without restrictions all his books and manuscripts, and there was further within the control of these his Executors a certain reserve of money applicable to the publication of the *Bibliotheca* of Spanish Reformers. I agreed with M^r^ Harris to undertake and complete this work, in conformity with the views of Wiffen's representatives and of our mutual friends the Betts'. When I left England, at the end of December 1868, I took with me, besides my own notices, the transcripts which had been taken for me from Wiffen's title-copies, mostly by the hand of M^rs^ Betts.

I had always highly appreciated the sagacity of Wiffen's mind which was the more admirable as he had never been trained for such studies as these, and had only begun to be occupied with them, after his retirement from business in middle life; when therefore, after his decease, his manuscripts were laid before me, together with his facsimile title-pages, his tracings and his store of various notices, I felt it to be a privilege to be called upon to carry out a work of so much industrious research and assiduous combination. And forasmuch as I knew his talents to be adorned with the unrelenting self-criticism of a true scholar, I felt sure that it would have been displeasing to him to have had his collections appear before the public, without that thorough revision which they needed. My task has therefore been to realise, as I best could, Wiffen's excellent idea.

Wiffen had dictated to M^rs^ Betts a list of twenty four names which should serve as a general index to the *Bibliotheca*, viz.: The twins Valdés, Dr. Constantino, Juan Diaz, Franzisco and Juan Dryander, Reinaldo Gonsalvo de Montes, Juan Perez, Corranus, Valera, Reina with his son Marcus, Texeda, Nicolas y Sacharles, Jaime Salgado, Fel. Ant. Alvarado, Aventrot, Ant. Sandoval, José Blanco (White), Juan Calderon, Raymond Montsalvaggi, Lucena, Luis de Usóz i Rio, Adolfo de Castro; in the middle, after Reina, there was to be inserted a group of different Catechisms and Confessions. This list was not however regarded by Wiffen as definitive and to include none but those named in it. In the first place we have to strike out the name of Johannes Dryander,

many of whose books Wiffen had registered; for their author was a German physician, not a brother of Francis Enzinas-Dryander, whose brother Jaime on the other hand had been omitted in the list, his only printed letter having been overlooked. I found that Wiffen's papers represented the Spanish Reformers divided into two classes; the list given above comprised the first class, to which he had besides assigned Michael Servetus; in the second class he placed Saravia, Melchior Roman, Monserrate, Gavin and others. Of Spanish translations of Erasmus, Wiffen had also made title-copies, but he did not introduce them into his proposed book on the Spanish Reformers.*) As he showed his judgment in this division, so for more reasons than one it appears to me desirable, to reserve the history of religion in Spain in the present century for a separate work. There is no publication by a Spaniard affecting the Reformation recorded by Wiffen as having been made during the last seventy years of the eighteenth century, and there occurs an interval in his first class of Reformers of 140 years, viz. between the writings of Sandoval and those of Joseph Blanco (White). On Blanco's life there exists an extensive work, published in London in 1845. Adolfo de Castro, whose *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles* appeared in Cadiz in 1851, is still living and holding office in Spain. Nor is it at present convenient to write the life of Luis de Usóz i Rio. Hence, I have resolved to refrain from extending the work to the nineteenth century, and to leave this task entirely to some, as may be hoped, native historian of the Evangelical church of Spain, who will find all the necessary materials within his reach. Concerning Aventrot (who besides his own writings appears to have edited a Spanish translation of the Heidelberg catechism), as he

*) Some notices by Wiffen on Erasmus' works published in Spanish, are to be found in my article *Erasmus in Spanien*, in the *Jahrbuch für romanische und englische Literatur*, Band IV, 1862, p. 158 f. — It may be mentioned here that perhaps the most complete collection now existing of editions of Erasmus' writings in Latin, printed during his lifetime, is in the possession of a friend of Wiffen, Frederic Seebohm of Hitchin Herts. Of the 112 numbers registered by him in Appendix E of his work *The Oxford Reformers*, 2d ed. 1869, more than two thirds were sent to him by me from Germany, where I felt it a pleasure to collect them for him during the course of seven years, buying at his expense whatever I could find of those old editions. Since Seebohm's catalogue was published, I have sent him sixty additional numbers.

was not a Spaniard by birth, but a Fleming, it did not seem we had the right to place him among the Spanish Reformers. On the other hand, I could not think it right to exclude the above named writers of Wiffen's second class. Saravia and Gavin were, like Alvarado, whom Wiffen had received in his first class, clergymen of the Church of England, and no doubt more prominent writers than Alvarado. As for Melchior Roman, of whom we have only a pamphlet on his conversion from Romanism, and for Monserrate, who wrote several Protestant treatises, I only had to follow the *lista de algunas obras por Españoles reformados* in vol. 2. of the *Reformistas Españoles*. That list, drawn up, it seems, by Usóz with the help of Wiffen, contains this series of names: Juan Valdés, Fr. Enzinas, Dr. Constantino, Juan Perez, Valera, Montanus, Corranus, Melchior Roman, Nicholas y Sacharles, Casiod. de Reyna, Texeda, Monserrate, Salgado, Alvarado, Blanco, and moreover some anonymous writings, subsequently distributed to their authors, ascertained or presumed. It is true that Monserrate has been impugned on account of Judaism; but, as the assailant's libel (Marganetti: *Brevis remonstratio*) is full of gross ignorance, and as the questionable work, *Misericordias David fideles,* published by Monserrate in 1645 with license, has not yet been found, it would not be fair, to refuse him definitely a place in the enlarged circle of Spanish Reformers, to which he is entitled by his former publications. The question may provisionally remain open. The other second class books of Wiffen, as far as they belong to the period I intend to treat, either proved not to have been written by Spaniards or not to relate to the reformatory movement. When collecting the title-pages, Wiffen had not neglected those of Servetus, whom he even had placed, as we have said, among the Reformers of his first class; in the preliminary index of the *Bibliotheca,* however, Servetus does not occur. I find no statement why he was left out, but after mature deliberation I think it more proper to abstain from ranking him in this *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, and to reserve him for a monograph. The different creeds and catechisms grouped together by Wiffen, have been distributed by me according to their respective authors or translators.

Regarding the lives of the Spanish Reformers, Wiffen had left sketches of but three of them, slight drafts, as they were called by

the friend to whom he dictated them, and one of these was not completed. On Tejeda he repeated what he and Usóz had published in the reprint of *Carrascon,* in the first volume of the *Reformistas.* The narrative on Perez was less detailed than the account, Wiffen himself had printed in English in the second volume of that series and in the Life of Juan Valdés. The pages on Sacharles were merely a rapid abstract from this writer's autobiography in vol. VIII. of the *Reformistas.* As therefore nothing new had been added, by these extemporised drafts, to former elaborations not at all inaccessible, I did not hesitate to lay them aside and write all the lives myself.

Wiffen himself considered that his title-copies needed revision. As to many of them, he had no opportunity of making them himself or getting them made under his personal superintendence; moreover he was latterly wont to complain that his eyesight became distressingly weak; and mistakes in languages which he did not understand would necessarily occur. Concerning the size of the books, he had distinguished folios, quartos, octavos, duodecimos, disregarding, however, as is usually done, the technical meaning of these terms. After all, it was indispensable to do the title-copies and bibliographical descriptions over again. This I have done by collation with the originals. Throughout the present volume I have pointed out the libraries where the copies I perused are to be found. Wiffen's references to libraries having sometimes disappointed me, they are here given only for such books, of which I could not speak from personal inspection. The books which I have had in my hands and which I have described here, belong to more than forty libraries. Twenty five libraries in Germany afforded me collation copies: at Halle a. S. the University library, with which the library presented by Herr von Ponickau to the University of Wittenberg is now connected (of both these I was *Custos* from 1859 to 1872), likewise at Halle the library of A. H. Francke's orphanhouse and also St. Mary's Church library; the libraries of the Universities of Erlangen, Goettingen, Helmstedt (where a considerable part of the library is still remaining), Jena, Kiel, Leipzig, Rostock, Tübingen, Strassburg, where, besides the University library recently founded, the old library of the Collegium Wilhelmitanum was very useful to me; the City libraries of Colmar, Frankfurt on the Maine, Hamburg, Memmingen and Ulm; the

Royal libraries at Berlin, at Dresden, at Munich, at Stuttgart; the Ducal ones at Gotha and Wolfenbüttel; the Count's library at Wernigerode. In Switzerland the Public library at Basle, the City libraries of Bern, of Geneva, of Zurich, the Cantonal ones at Coire and at Lausanne. In the Netherlands the Royal library at the Hague and the University library at Leyden. In France the *bibliothèque* then *Impériale,* now *Nationale* at Paris. Last, not least, in England five public libraries: in London, the British Museum; at Oxford, the Bodleian and All Souls; at Cambridge, the University library and that of Trinity College. I must here embrace the opportunity publicly to acknowledge that the accessibility of the English libraries and their arrangements for the convenience of the readers are, so far as my experience goes, unequalled. Every where I met with great kindness. Whilst I express my obligation to the librarians of the above named collections, I am not under less to those of many other places, whose no less readiness was evinced to aid me in researches which proved unsuccessful. Besides the public libraries, I used some private ones: Wiffen's precious collection, that of my friend John Betts at Pembury, those of my venerable colleagues in Strassburg University, Baum, Cunitz, Reuss, and my own shelves. Moreover I owe great thanks to the administration of the St. Thomas, Archives here at Strassburg, of the Episcopal Archives at Frauenburg in Prussia, of the City Archives of Geneva, of those of the Saxon Duchies at Weimar and of the Ducal ones at Gotha.

The order, in which I arranged the lives and the titles, will, I hope, appear sufficiently natural, so as to need no special apology.

Wiffen used to talk of the bibliographical and biographical work he undertook to write, as of his *Bibliotheca*, and indeed these works of the Spanish Reformers were, so to say, his library, which he placed next in his affection to the Bible. I have called my book *Bibliotheca Wiffeniana*, in order to give him the honour due to him of having conceived the idea of the composition of such a work, for the execution of which he indefatigably prepared the materials. His name is besides expressly mentioned in the course of this book wherever I was indebted to him for particulars.

His collections for the bibliographical part of the present volume were very valuable. He had not registered the official and private

papers of Alfonso de Valdés, but I derived information from him for nos 2. 8. 52 of my catalogue. Of nos 55—177, the following 52 were found in Wiffen's title-copies: 55—57. 60. 61. 63—69. 72. 74. 76. 77. 80. 82. 83—86. 88. 92. 95a. 96. 99—109. 112. 116. 120. 121. 123. 124 (the edition of 1572 and one former one). 133. 135. 137. 152. 153. 156. 159 (or 160 or 161). 162. 172. The responsibility, however, for the articles as they are now given under these numbers, is mine, except where I say that I rely on Wiffen. Whilst most of the libraries enumerated above are not mentioned in Wiffen's papers, or are mentioned only on the ground of my communications, others, which have remained beyond my reach, are referred to by him.

The printing of this volume was begun just two years ago. Five sheets were printed when I quitted Halle and settled in Strassburg. Here still less time is left me for this work, but, as the manuscript was nearly ready when I came here, I may hope that the printing will be completed in a couple of years.

The book had to be published in English. I should, of course, have preferred to write it in German, and to get it translated by an Englishman, had I found somebody to do it under my eye. As I was not favored with such an opportunity, I determined to write it in English myself. It would, however, have been presumptuous, to lay my lucubrations, in a language which is not my own, before the public, without a previous expurgatory censure. I have therefore read the manuscript of the narrative, as far as it was at that time advanced, to a young friend who happened to stay for only too short a time at Halle; and the proofsheets have been revised alternately by other English friends. While heartily thanking them for this cooperation, I cannot but confess that I have often had to decide myself without recurring to it, and I must therefore ask for the indulgence of my English readers.

Strassburg, in January 1874.

Eduard Boehmer.

Remarks on the principles followed in the descriptions of the books.

Nothing has been here reproduced in black letter. Only with regard to publications of the sixteenth century, I have expressly stated it, when such were employed. The books here described of that period, written in German, are all printed in Gothic type.

As I could not give facsimiles of the titles, I forewent also, as Wiffen had foregone, to take capitals whenever they were used in our originals. Capitals are, however, retained also in my transcripts after full stops, and where found by me as initials of words in *minuscules*, or as initials of words in capitals smaller than those initials; but in transcribing words or syllables written out in equally large capitals, I employed capitals only as initials of proper names, as well in adjectives and in adverbs as in substantives. (In the title of de Castro's *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles*, n° 23, the word *Protestantes* must be taken as a proper name; so also *al Diálogo* and *á los Orígenes*, n° 79. The reason why on p. 126. 127. I have written out in capitals VAL D'ESSO, is evident).

The end of a line in a title-page is in my copies marked by a vertical stroke. Two such strokes ‖ mean accordingly that one line of the original has been omitted in my transcript, and in the same way three strokes ‖| are a sign that two lines have been purposely left out. The omission of more than one line is often marked by ‖[. Whereever only a part of a line is suppressed in the copy, stops are put: ...

Even the *form* of an hyphen being occasionally a distinctive characteristic of the titles of two different editions, I was far from being too punctilious in taking care to mark or to omit, in conformity with the original prints, the hyphen before the vertical stroke indicating the end of a line. It might also have been better, if I had not left unnoticed, where printed horizontal strokes occur between printed lines (for instance in n° 72 between *Amberg* and *M DC IX*).

The terms Quarto, Octavo &c. are originally meant to set forth in how many book-leaves a sheet is divided. The criterion in most cases will be the typographical signature at the foot of the page. There are quarto-volumes smaller than octavo-volumes, and octavos smaller than duodecimos. Some examples will be useful. Jean Crespin's *Recueil* of Christian martyrs, published 1556 (below here n° 126), and the *Actiones et Monimenta* by the same 1560 (ib.), if we follow the signatures, are both in octavo, although in the latter the printed column is four times as large as in the former; according to the general usage, on the contrary, the *Actiones* would be said to be in-quarto, only because the page is so large, and the *Recueil* in-duodecimo, because it is so small. The *Dottrina vecchia e nuova* (see below under Juan Perez's *Breve tratado*), although in-quarto, has less broad columns than Constantino's *Summa* in the Antwerp edition in-octavo. In many cases, however, the progress of the signatures does not keep pace with the accession of sheets. For instance, the size of Roest's auction catalogue. published by Frederik Muller at Amsterdam in 1868, of Hebrew books left by Almanzi and others, which by most people would be called octavo, according to the signatures is quarto; but no doubt the sheets had been cut before printing, and the different signatures really belong

to the two halves of the same sheet, the second half being placed after the first instead of in the first. Often, on the contrary, several sheets are laid one in the other, or part of a sheet is laid into an entire sheet, and yet such layers have only one signature. For instance, in Valera's Bible of 1602 each signature comprehends a layer of four sheets in-folio, Pantaleo's *Acta martyrum* 1563 are arranged in layers of three in-folio, Bruin's *Historie der Martelaren* 1747 in layers of two. In accurate descriptions of in-folio volumes I have indicated how many sheets the layer has (Folio double, triple); whereas in such accurate descriptions the simple notice Folio means that each fifth page has a new signature. By the terms quarto, sexto, octavo, decimo, duodecimo, I denote such sizes in which respectively on p. 9, 13 17, 21, 25 a new signature commences, without investigating whether the ordinal number of the signature corresponds with the ordinal number of the sheet, which is not always the case. The octavo-edition and the quarto-edition of Rabus' *Gottes-Zeugen,* 2d vol. (below nº 124) have identical column; no doubt in the octavo two sheets are combined. This seems to be the case also in the above mentioned *Actiones et monimenta.* A complete bibliographical statement would answer the questions: Which part of the sheet is the leaf? Octavo, .quarto &c. How many leaves has the layer? To be seen by the signature. What dimensions has the printed column? To be measured by a scale, as I have done for nº 55.

Where I say that the leaves or the pages are not numbered, I do not mean that there is no signature.

POSTSCRIPT.

I could already make some additions to this volume. I have succeeded in purchasing a copy of the first edition (treated under nº 93) of the *Munusculum Vergerii.* I intend to republish it. The German translation of 1609 of the Mercury dialogue (nº 72) is reprinted, from this edition, in Goldast's *Reichs-Haendel* 1614 (a copy in my possession). The originals of Francis Dryander's three letters to Camerarius (nº 140) are in the Royal library at Munich, Collectio Camerariana vol. 15, n. 5—7. Cf. Halm's *Verzeichniss der handschriftlichen Sammlung der Camerarii in der k. Staatsbibliothek zu München.*, München 1874, S. 37. To Professor Halm's kindness I owe copies of the letters and a facsimile of a subscription. The letters show changes introduced by another hand, which were probably made for the edition, which agrees with them. At the end of my work I shall give a supplement and corrections. Some Errata may be noticed here. P 72, 5 instead of *this* read *the eternal.* 92, nº 22, the last alinea ought to have been printed in Italics. 108, 12 a. i. cancel the sign ". 109, in nº 65 write *Mercvrio, archidiacono, privilegio,* and place a comma after *tradotti.* 123, nº 96, l. 2 *Vergerij,* l. 5 *Diser.* 124, 1 add: *Octavo,* l. 10 read *ewiger*

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MEMOIR

OF

BENJAMIN BARRON WIFFEN

BY

MARY ISALINE W. WIFFEN.

"For books are not absolutely dead things, but do contain a progeny of life in them to be as active as that soul whose progeny they are; nay they do preserve as in a vial the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive, as those fabulous dragon's teeth: and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men.

A good book is the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life!"

Milton's Areopagitica.

PREFACE.

In writing the Memoir of my Uncle, Benjamin Barron Wiffen, it has been my desire that his mind and character should be presented as a *whole,* not merely as the Scholar, but as the Man, the Poet and the Christian.

My Uncle's literary character was first moulded by association with his elder Brother, Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, my Father, known as the Translator of Torquato Tasso's "Gerusalemme Liberata," and of the works of Garcilaso de la Vega &c. &c. — and after my Father's decease, it was ripened and developed by the „tender and enduring friendship", which he sustained for twenty-five years, with the noble and high-minded Christian Scholar, El Señor Don Luis de Usoz y Rio. It was this friendship which ultimately gave my Uncle's pursuits their special direction to Spanish Literature, wherein he has made his name so well known, as to become a "household word" amongst Spanish men of letters.

The result of the literary friendship between Don Luis and B. B. Wiffen, was the publication of the "Reformistas Antiguos Españoles," a series of works, which constitute a record of the important, interesting, and hitherto unknown history of the early Spanish Reformers, — of their Churches, of their Martyrs, and of their Exiles. These early Spanish Reformers were Scholars and Divines, and their works embody a Theology so enlightened, as to awaken astonishment, when the darkness of their age, together with the oppression of the government under which they lived, are taken into consideration. Illustrations thereof will be found by the English Reader in the Translation of Valdés', "CX Considerations," in his "Commentaries" on the Epistle to the Romans, and on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in the "Confession of a Sinner," by Dr. Constantino &c. &c.

If these works be interesting to English readers, how much more must their reprints in the vernacular interest Spaniards! Written by Spaniards during the Augustan period of their history, they will, from Spanish idiosyncrasy, be cordially welcomed by Spaniards of the present and of future generations, and as good seed sown in faith, they will bear fruit hereafter, in the intellectual, moral and religious enlightenment of Spain.

It had been my Uncle's wish, that this "Bibliotheca" should have been compiled and published by Don Luis, and my Uncle had suggested the idea to him, carefully collecting and preserving all information towards this end, but his friend's death occurring in 1865, B. B. Wiffen prepared to carry out the work himself. He commenced arranging his detailed Catalogue of all the ascertained works of the early Spanish Reformers, with brief biographical sketches, "in order to serve as a manual for scholarly reference, and to establish them as a *class* of writers, of whom their countrymen are almost entirely ignorant", through the successful suppression of their works by the Inquisition. My Uncle died in the spring of 1867, not long after his friend, and thus was the completion of his last cherished wish prevented.

Dr. Edward Boehmer, Professor of the Romance Languages and Librarian at the University of Halle, a valued friend and correspondent of my Uncle, has kindly undertaken to complete the work, which he has entitled the "Bibliotheca Wiffeniana".

The materials for the Memoir are partly taken from a Sketch which my Uncle wrote just before his death, containing an account of his association with Don Luis, and the incidents attendant on the discovery of the books described in the "Bibliotheca Wiffeniana".

I have extracted from this Sketch, suitable passages for the Memoir, and his own account of the discovery of each book is thereto annexed.

The verses at the close of the Memoir were written by my Uncle himself; the last line in the second verse having been slightly altered, to make the allusion *now* correctly appropriate.

Oakfield, Reigate. May 1869.

Mary Isaline W. Wiffen.

Benjamin Barron Wiffen was born in the year 1794. His Father John Wiffen was descended from an old family, De Wimpffen*), who settled in Norfolk. He was an intelligent man, of great conversational powers, and of poetical taste. When travelling on business, he always carried with him volumes of a miniature edition of the Poets, (of Pope, Dryden, Akenside, Churchill and translations of Homer and Virgil,) in saddle bags slung across his horse in the style of travellers of that day, when such a taste was not general, and usually restricted to the learned.

His Mother Elizabeth Wiffen was a woman of superior abilities, of great industry and energy of character. She was early left a Widow with six young children, whom she carefully trained and educated, and in 1839 she retired with her two unmarried daughters, and her son Benjamin, to a country villa, Mount Pleasant, near Woburn in Bedfordshire, where she lived to the advanced age of eighty years. Elizabeth Wiffen and her Husband were both members of the Society of Friends.

B. B. Wiffen was with his brother, Jeremiah Holmes Wiffen, educated at the "Friends'" School at Ackworth in Yorkshire. Tradition yet tells how my Father, the future Poet and Translator of Tasso and Garcilaso, used to lie awake, amusing his boy companions in their dormitory, with strange tales and wonderful romances drawn from his own imagination; — the continuation of which was eagerly demanded night after night by the delighted auditors.

The brothers were throughout life much attached to each other, and the intellectual pursuits of the elder greatly influenced the sub-

*) No doubt of German origin. There is a town called Wimpfen on the Neckar, and a family von Wimpffen still flourishes. Boehmer.

sequent career of the younger. The first volume of poems, "Aonian Hours", published by J. H. Wiffen, was dedicated by him to

"Benjamin Barron Wiffen
In recreation and in study
in gladness and in trial
The Companion, the Brother and the Friend."

In the noontide of his career J. H. Wiffen was removed by death at the early age of 43 in May 1836. And thus does B. B. W. touchingly advert to the lifelong loss of his brother, in a poem written many years later, when time might seem to have healed the wound which Death had made.

"Ye groves whose sweep my unveiled windows view,
Not e'en Frascati bears the palm from you.
If there Italian skies in radiance glow,
Here deeper verdure lights the turf below.
Dear classic glades! where he who late took down
Tasso's sweet lyre and made its echoes known,
Formed his pure taste and made with graceful ease
Italian sense in Saxon music please.
That lyre, alas! with all its chords unstrung
Is on the *) cypress bough again uphung.
How oft at dewfall when the setting sun
Told that the labours of the day were done,
In that sweet sense accomplished duty brings,
When Time himself takes rest upon his wings;

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*) See J. H. Wiffen's L'Envoi to his Translation of Tasso stanze IV.

"If with no vulgar aim, no selfish view,
I sought to give thy foreign chords a tongue,
Let not my hopes all pass like morning dew,
When on thy cypress bough again thou'rt hung,*)
But sometimes whisper of me to the few
I love, the fond, the faithful and the young;
And those who reverence the wronged soul that planned
Thy world of sound, with archangelic hand."

*) Tu che ne vai in Pindo,
Ivi pende mia cetra ad un cipresso,
Salutarla in mio nome, e dille poi
Ch'io son dagli anni, e da fortuna oppresso.
Rime del Tasso.

Here have we met and walked uncounted hours
While Verse, sweet Verse! strewed all the way with flowers.
The twilight lake, the woods, the drowsy birds,
E'en solemn midnight witnessed of our words.
There on our own, how oft the starry eyes
Of the bright Pleiads glistened from the skies.
I will not question of their spheres to tell,
What Memory chants in her eternal cell;
To Her while wet with ink this paper lies
A Brother's hand inscribes a Brother's sighs.
His after scholar in the art divine,
How late to learn, how rough in every line.
Not touched to music by his graceful hand,
How rude as written, must these Verses stand."

In 1866 he writes to a friend — "H — M — has come down to arrange the library." (at Woburn Abbey) — "I went and lunched with him. It was pleasant to sit in the room where I had so often seen my Brother, and where he wrote his Tasso, Garcilaso, and Russell Memoirs. It felt like a gleam of Autumn sunshine recalling the glow of Summer."

In 1839, soon after he went to reside at Mount Pleasant, he became acquainted with his Spanish friend; and thus gives an account of the circumstance.

"The interest which I have taken in the writings of the Spanish religious reformers, had its rise from a casual acquaintance, which ripened into a tender and enduring friendship with an enlightened Spanish Nobleman, Luis de Usoz y Rio."

"He was a gentleman of family, by birth a *caballero,* of high education and strong literary tastes, especially in everything that illustrated the knowledge of the Scriptures, and the ancient writers of his country. He had passed five or six years in Italy, studying law in the Spanish college at Bologna, and passed through his academical courses in several of the Universities of Spain, and in that of Bologna with honours. In 1835 he returned to Madrid, and married a lady of good family and ample fortune. Wishing to avail themselves of this juncture to travel abroad, they visited Italy and

its principal cities, then Paris, and came to London early in the year 1839.

"Whilst living at Madrid, Luis was one day called upon by a peasant who offered him a volume for sale. He read the title "Apologia de la Verdadera Theologia Christiana," being Barclay's "Apology" translated into Spanish by Felix Antonio de Alvarado. He did not know the book, bought it, and read it with curiosity. Finding it expounded the Doctrines of the Society of Friends, called Quakers, and having seen an English translation of his choicest poet Garcilaso de la Vega by Jeremiah H. Wiffen, one of them, he resolved (should he go to London) to find him out, and learn more respecting the Society of which he had read in the Apologia. Soon after his arrival in London he was taken by George Borrow (author of the Bible in Spain) to witness the proceedings of the Committee of the Bible Society, and was introduced by him to Josiah Forster, one of the Committee, and a prominent member of the Society of Friends. Luis at once enquired after J. H. Wiffen; and learnt that he had died in 1836, but that his widow and children, and his brother were living."

"Just at this time I went from my home at Woburn to London, in order to attend the annual meeting of the Society of Friends. As soon as Josiah Forster saw me there, he told me that a Spanish gentleman had enquired for my deceased brother. He put the card of his address into my hand, and requested me to call and see him."

"At first I felt a hesitation, having so slight an introduction, and no motive of my own; yet reflecting that the gentleman had enquired for my brother, to whom I was much attached, I resolved to call upon him at once."

"I found him residing with his wife at 15, Jermyn Sreet.

"He was erect and rather tall in person, with thick black hair, close cropped according to the Spanish mode. His countenance was grave, and dark-complexioned, yet mild in expression; and his eyes were dark and animated. In figure and in features he was spare. His manner was modest and had an air of polite reserve. After a short time passed in general conversation, as I had to proceed further, he put on his hat and accompanied me. While we walked along the streets our conversation continued; and in order to correct what I

thought was an erroneous view, entertained by people who travel in foreign countries to view the productions of the Fine Arts, I made the remark, that I did not think it was by pictures, statues, and vases, that the civilization of nations was advanced; but that *religious liberty,* the real freedom of moral and religious thought and action, *was the only basis of true civilization.* The heartiness with which he expressed his concurrence with this sentiment, showed me that it was no new thought, but one familiar to his mind. I believe that our friendship, which lasted for the remainder of life, was then begun while walking the streets of London."

At the close of the year 1839 B. B. Wiffen accompanied his friend George William Alexander to Spain, in order to promote the effectual abolition of the Slave Trade and Slavery. They had the opportunity of pleading the cause of humanity before Espartero, then Regent of Spain; and the Catholic Bishop of Cordova laid his hands upon their heads as they stood before him, and blessed them, — "thanking God at the same time that he had lived to see the day, when two Englishmen came to travel in Spain to advance the abolition of Slavery. "Luis de Usoz y Rio felt also deeply interested in the cause of Emancipation. His father had held the office of *Oidor*, or Protector of the Indians, in a Spanish colony of South America, and he himself had been nursed by a slave who was made free and lived and died in his family.

B. B. Wiffen greatly enjoyed the freshness and incident of foreign travel. His love for, and appreciation of, the beautiful in Nature were very great, and the charm of the picturesque scenes, and old historic associations — the glowing skies and fragrant blooms of beautiful Spain, remained vividly impressed upon his mind until the close of life.

Writing in 1864 to his friends John and Maria Betts, of Pembury, he says. "The mention of your intended route by Folkestone, Boulogne, and Paris brings to my recollection the first journey I made abroad, a little later in the season than this, by the same route, only sailing from Dover. I then found the realization of the thoughts — shall I call them *visions*, I had had years before, when every thing seemed improbable, and I laid myself down in the lonely woods here, and thought so earnestly, that I thought it aloud unconsciously, "I wonder whether I shall ever go abroad!"

"Between Dover and Boulogne the autumn sun large and red, rose out of the waters, his beams glancing on a hundred and fifty fishing smacks with their white sails spread, glancing hither and thither in the distance like a brood of white winged butterflies."

"We in those days jogged on pleasantly through the old historical cities of the western road by the diligence. Amiens was the first, then Abbeville, Orleans, Blois, Tours, Poictiers, Angoulême, Bordeaux. We passed over the beautiful Suspension Bridge, a miracle of art, which George Stephenson, the well known engineer, prophesied would fall under the *measured* tread of a regiment of soldiers, — and it *did!* At Bayonne we first saw the snow-capped Pyrenees, tinted as by celestial roses in the sultry sun, and in Biscay the ruins of palaces caused by the recent Carlist War of Succession."

"I dipped my hands in every river I passed, and gathered memorials from every memorable spot, which I have but lately given to the flames."

"You will go much in the same track, but you will not see the country sights and incidents *as* I saw them."

And again —

"I did not see Toledo. I remember however the passage of the Sierra Morena, Carmona, and especially Cordova, its mosque with bronze covered doors, and its patio of orange trees — the Roman bridge and Moorish Alcazar. It is well you have had some Spanish travelling by diligence with mules. How pleasant it is at the earliest morning before sunrise, to jog along the mysterious country through strange villages enveloped in a fragrant atmosphere of burning lavender. And to notice the melting colours of the sky from the deepest purple almost black with intensity, the vermilion and gold unequalled in purity of colour by anything seen in these moister northern latitudes. And at night the stars are really like lamps hung in heaven, for the air being so dry and pure, the eye seems to look beyond, and see the other side of them."

"Then the orange tree in full leaf and fruit is, I think, the most beautiful vegetable product of nature.

Spain is yet oriental, earliest ages
Gave her an' Asian beauty * * *

"The Moors introduced the rose, the orange and date. The rose grows wild on the hills about Cordova, and the Moorish love of flowers is still shown in the streets of Seville by the semi circular pots hung against the fronts of houses, containing carnations" (a favourite flower with Spanish ladies).

"The Alcazar there is an interesting antiquity. In the lower streets of Seville may be seen the Moorish manners, a family sitting in a circle, cross legged on the floor, eating their dinner off a mat, or playing at cards upon it. The convent of San Isidro near Seville was where Cassiodore de Reina, translator of the Bible of 1569, indoctrinated most of the monks, and from which he escaped. At the Seminary or College of Doctrine, Seville, Juan Perez author of the "Epistola Consolatoria" was master. Dr. Constantino preached there, and at the Cathedral. De Montes and Zafra, who wrote the "Arts of the Inquisition", were its officers there; they favoured the Reformers and escaped, to exhibit to the world its true character. One prison of the Inquisition stood in the *Plaza de San Francisco* but the chief prison was the *Triana*, I think on the other side the river. The Quemadero or burning place was where Julian Hernandez, the friend of Juan Perez, who carried his books to Seville, was burnt, as were also the bones of Dr. Constantino, who died in prison."

"The Quemadero was an elevated platform of masonry, with large statues of the Evangelists at the corners. It stood out of the old city, near the part where passengers now embark on board the steamer for Cadiz."

In the summer of 1841 Luis de Usoz y Rio and his wife visited B. B. Wiffen at Mount Pleasant, and their visit is thus recorded by him. "My mother was then slightly unwell, but would not have the visit put off on that account. They came and passed a few days; and my aged Parent getting worse, expired on the Sabbath night, while they were yet in the house, quietly passing away alone in her sleep. They would naturally be affected by such an event, but they were more touched by the manner with which it was received by the family. At the usual Scripture reading before breakfast, on the morning after her decease, my eldest sister selected the 14th chapter of St. John commencing "Let not your heart be troubled." The undisturbed order

and quietness observed in the family deeply affected them." I believe "said Luis afterwards, that I was brought there by Providence at that time to witness the death of a true Christian." How much this scene impressed them, is shown by the circumstance that my friend's widow remembered it, and read the same chapter upon the occasion of the death of *her* Husband in 1865."

In the year 1843, B. B. Wiffen again travelled into Spain with G. W. Alexander,*) on the same benevolent errand of freedom for the slave. On this visit he became still more intimate with his Spanish friends, and yet more deeply interested in all that related to Spain, her literature, and her martyrs for the truth. From this period his literary pursuits gradually assumed a definite form; and the discovery by him of the "Alfabeto Cristiano" of Juan de Valdés, (which had been lost for the last three centuries), led to the restoration and reprinting of the various and unknown writings of that author, as well as of numerous other valuable religious works; which furnished a delightful and interesting study, and became for 25 years the absorbing interest of his life.

This close and intimate acquaintance with the inner thoughts and religious experience of those noble men, who suffered persecution, tortures and martyrdom, rather than deny the Truth which they had received from their Lord and Master, — could not but leave its impress on a mind which studied their character and their writings with such love and veneration, and their influence upon his own spiritual progress was very apparent.

As years rolled on, his views became exceedingly clear, on the practical fitness of the great truths of Christianity for the comfort and happiness of the Believer. He expressed regret that Christians did not live more "by the faith of the Son of God."

Amidst the sorrowful trials and vicissitudes of life, he deemed it especially incumbent on the Christian, to endeavour in faith "to look upwards, and to look forward, with hope; to number our remaining blessings, and to be very grateful to the Great Giver of them all, for what He has hitherto lent, and for what he yet permits us to use; to

*) On an interview they had at Lisbon with the papal Nuncio see Memoirs of Stephen Grellet ed. by Benj. Scebohm, third ed., vol. 2, London 1862. p. 72. There the year of the interview is said to have been 1842. Boehmer.

maintain our minds in patience, bearing the Divine Will as the portion of our Cross to be endured in this life, until our final change and release come."

It was a great satisfaction to him to know, that his literary labours where not without result even during his own lifetime. A copy of the 'Epistola Consolatoria," was given to Manuel Matamoros, whilst imprisoned at Granada for having read the Bible to others, and for having spread it. "I have seen," writes B. B. W. (7 mo. 20th 1862) his letter of the most ardent thanks for it. He states that the book has been written for him! Thus have I seen the sentiment of the last paragraph of the introduction to that volume exactly verified."

The paragraph alluded to runs thus:

"Persecution in a greater or less degree has ever attended the progress of Divine truth; opposition and tribulation will continue to acompany it. The example and counsel of those who have before passed through these trials, are strong incentives to others who, coming after, suffer for the like principles; nor may it perhaps be too much to believe, that some of these may derive encouragement in their course, from the perusal of the scriptural pages of the Epistola Consolatoria."

Very early in life B. B. Wiffen, in unison with his brother, cultivated the art of poetry; but at a certain period, finding that it was too absorbing and that it interfered with the sterner duties of life, he consigned his poems to the flames; yet he afterwards resumed the pursuit and produced many very pleasing poetical pieces — "The Warder of the Pyrenees," "Spanish Letters," "Alice Gray," "My Winter Home" &c. &c.

He had a Poet's love for flowers. He writes — "My Hyacinth is full of large white blossoms, and looks so happy shining in the morning sun. Is it foolish to invest it with feeling; it has an organized life of its own, and having no other living creature with me, why may not my *consciousness* go forth to it? the beauty of it's Life reaches to *mine!* This is sentiment!! and it is also metaphysics or psychology."

He never married — but he had a true appreciation of the dignity of Woman, and was always very gentle in his manner to

young people and little children. He thus expresses his sentiments to his friends at Pembury, with whom he "passed many *Attic Hours* over the pages of Valdés." "The conduct of a house with the guidance of household, is the glory of a woman. It is her domain, and the kingdom over which her sceptre sways, and her throne of judgment. The family life, is the best form of life, and the most fruitful of benefits, and examples, and of benign influences. A gracious family is the highest type of human nature. It is a good thing then to desire it."

The death of Luis de Usoz y Rio in 1865 was a blow from which B. B. Wiffen never rallied. Extracts from his letters will best convey his feelings during the period of his friend's declining health.

2 mo. 25. 1865.

"I told thee of the two serious hemorrhages, that Luis has had from the lungs — the symptoms are of a most unfavourable character. Now I understand the force (yet thou didst not give it the meaning I did) of the expression in one of thy letters "*his poor thin countenance*" which when I read it, I felt as an augury. Under these circumstances, with the prospect of the approaching end of all things human, his heart is at rest and his mind tranquil, and I have trust, that the words of Isaiah will be realized to him: — "Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in Thee." In this I have much hope for him; for myself I am very sad and depressed with the thought of the end. We know not however when, and it may possibly be some time yet. Indeed some have lived for years after such symptoms.

"Hope springs eternal in the human breast," and the actual future of life is hidden from us."

3 mo. 15. 1865.

"Poor Luis! I grieve to think that our sweet friendship must expire, and how soon! "What deaths we suffer ere we die!" Luis will take no remedy but Patience nor do anything for his disease but yield himself up *absolutely* to the disposal of Providence and the grace of his Saviour. He refers to a fable of Iriartes against doctors, which much impressed his mind when a youth.

"Batalla el enfermo
Con la enfermedad" &c.

The few lines in his last letter are depressing, they seem to sink my heart, and render the words too heavy in my mind to breathe."

9 mo. 13. 1865.

"A letter received yesterday from his Brother, Santiago, brings the mournful intelligence of Luis' death on the 17th of last month, the day on which our letter to him would arrive at Madrid. Santiago writes: "Su mujer me ha contado hoi ciertos pormenores de su muerte, "y dice que murió con igual paz y tranquilidád a la que hubiera "tenido ahi. Nadie le incomodó y ella cumplió todas sus prescripciones. "El murió cristianamente, y ella muestra una conformidad cristiana."

"My eyes fill with tears whilst I write, and my heart feels as though it has an arrow in it. My strength and my faith seem to melt in the heat, — not indeed for him, but for myself. If I had better learned the lessons of his example, I should be less unmanned than I feel I am. His pleasant and instructive friendship, for twenty five years has been the charm of my life. It softened, almost sweetened my constitutional melancholy; in all depressions of spirit there were a pleasant friend and pleasant subjects to turn to, that always answered with kind good will."

"He completed his literary work with his "Isaiah," and the 20th volume of the "Reformistas," and with him all our work seems ended."

9 mo. 17. 1865.

"I acknowledge immediately the receipt of your two very kindly sympathising letters."

"A pious writer has said "the soul partakes of the constitutional nature of the body: He who is languid in a state of nature, is languid in a state of grace;" and I find it so. In vain we give the body food, unless it has the power of digesting and assimilating the nourishment; so too unless the Soul has its appetite and forces, in a healthy state, it cannot take and apply its desired consolations. Age, which weakens the natural part, ought to ripen in proportion the inner life of the Christian; and it does ripen it. It makes it mellow indeed, but does not toughen it, so to speak, against the shocks of his present life. A Christian may lawfully feel sorrow at his trouble, but he should not, as

Valdés would say, resent it, i. e. *continue* to feel sorrow, for that is to reject the dispensations of the Almighty, for they ought to be accepted with alacrity of whatever kind they be. I would wish to do so even in this trial, but the waters of the heart repeatedly rise up into the eyes."

"I am pleased to hear of your happiness. I can at present only look backward. I dare not look forward being behind the pillar of cloud."

"A Spanish correspondent of mine, who three months before his death went to see Luis, has given me the impression made on his mind by the interview. I use his own language — "He rises early, works, takes a light breakfast (a cup of chocolate) — dines at 2 p. m. takes a walk, works again, and goes to bed without supper. * * * Although I am sorry that he is so aged, (he was but in his sixtieth year) stricken, as he says, with a mortal malady, and so to all appearance, to remain but a short time in the body, I am awed with the sight and touch of this singular man, — and yet he is so modest, so simple, so tender, so ineffably excellent, that all his wealth and vast learning are as nothing to his holy life and Christian conversation. To have such a man in Spain, is I think a great marvel. And to me to enjoy his kindness for these 23 years, an inestimable privilege I must ever be grateful and responsible for it to the end of my account."

"The same correspondent, after his death writes to me this concerning him. "He is gone, but his works remain; His mouth spoke as his pen wrote, for his speech was as fluent, sweet and Christian as his writings; in fact he was a living book, — his mouth is silent, his works finished. Our loss is heavy, it is not our own only, it is an irreparable national loss."

"Another correspondent describes him thus: "During the long period of our acquaintance I have had occasion to observe his diligence and solicitude to instruct himself, his singular mode of thought and view of things, his passion for truthfulness and the extirpation of abuses, which he did not live to see corrected, his modest conduct in his elevated position in life and his beautiful inclination to favour the necessitous. These marks of true virtue ought to bring grateful remembrances of his latter end."

B. B. Wiffen took an active interest in many of the benevolent institutions of his day. He was a conscientious member of the Society of Friends, observant of their peculiarities, and most exemplary in carrying out their principles in his daily life and conversation; and in services for the good of their section of the Christian church, he was ever ready to take his part.*) It was in attending a religious meeting, on a severe wintry night, that he is believed to have taken the influenza cold by which he was so suddenly carried off.

It seems to have been his wish that he might "slip away unobserved." And this was the case. He was gone before most of his relatives and friends knew that he was ill.

He died on the evening of Monday the 18th of March 1867 in the Seventy third year of his age.

His loss was much felt, and the blank still remains, to his intimate friends, who, penetrating through those characteristics, which gave to him at times the appearance of an air of shyness und reserve, — found the pure gold hid down below, and could appreciate the true worth of his character.

One of his Spanish friends thus alludes to his death. "I cannot express properly the loss I suffer with the passing away of our friend B. B. Wiffen. I knew him at Madrid in 1841, the first time he went there with G. W. Alexander to promote in Spain the Anti-Slavery cause. So long an intercourse would be sufficient at present for my sorrow, but there are many other things which endeared, during his life, our friendship and my regard for him."

"From the first time when I went to England to visit your country, Benjamin assisted and guided me, according to his grave character looking to the success of my journey as an important task for himself. During a short period, we visited together several places in England and some Institutions. Whenever I called upon him in following years, I found at Mount Pleasant, not merely a benevolent friend, but rather a tender or affectionate Brother."

*) The biographical notice of B. B. Wiffen in the Friend's Obituary for the year 1867, London 1867, p. 236 f. is by the author of this enlarged Memoir. Boehmer.

With the rest of their family, side by side, in the "Friends" quiet burial ground at Woburn Sands, lie the two Brothers! Over their last resting place the grass grows green — the harebells wave, and the old Pine trees murmur for aye their wild and solemn Requiem!

"They passed away unobserved, but they will not be forgotten by a thankful posterity. Spain shall one day write the name of the two brothers Wiffen with illustrious letters on the pages of her history!"

"There is a spot of earth — a small
Green unfrequented plot. — Tis sown
For immortality! — by all,
Save by a friendly few, unknown.

"By glossy holly sheltered round,
Where soft the aged Fir trees sigh,
In quiet and forgotten ground
The Brothers, Friends and Poets lie!"

"We ask no Cross nor Tomb to story
Their Memories to other days, —
For Letters write their own best glory,
And Virtue is unfading praise."

"The crumbling stone despite of Fame,
Shrinks back to native dust again;
But every page that speaks Their Name,
Is graven in the minds of men!"

Copy of a letter form Theodore Harris to Santiago Usoz i Rio.

Leighton Buzzard. Beds.
25. III. 1867.

Dear Friend,

It now becomes my duty as executor and friend of our late dear Benjamin Wiffen to give thee some information of his peaceful end and of some other matters. Of the former thou hast no doubt had information from Maria Betts and a letter from his nephew A. A. Watts will probably reach thee before this does.

He was buried yesterday morning in the little burial ground at Woburn Sands in the presence of a large company of Friends and neighbours.

Four of his relations were present viz. his sister Priscilla Watts, her son and daughter, and his niece Isaline Wiffen. It was a pleasant day like the coming in of spring and the sun shone on his coffin as it rested over the grave. At the grave side, before the body was lowered to its last resting place, our dear friend Christine Alsop from Stoke Newington near London preached, quoting that triumphant passage of the Apostle Paul "O! death where is thy sting? O! grave where is thy victory?" After we had deposited our departed one's remains in the grave we went into the meeting house where for so many years he had been used to worship in Spirit the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is to be worshipped "in Spirit and in Truth."

Here the company followed us and the whole place was filled till it overflowed, and though many stood, some could not find room to stand.

After a time of reverent stillness our dear friend C. Alsop knelt down and prayed to God. She also preached. Then my friend John M. Albright (whose ancestor, a persecuted Quaker in the 17th century, contributed towards the building of the Meeting House, as appears by our records) spoke to the congregation, ending his discourse with that of Peter "For ye were as sheep going astray, but are now returned unto the Shepherd and Bishop of your souls." Finding liberty in my spirit, and believing that my dear Master permitted me, I took up these last words and addressed the people something after this manner — "That if it was a cause for rejoicing to the Christian believer when any returned, from going astray, to the Shepherd and Bishop of their souls Christ Jesus, finding rest and peace in Him even in this life, was it not as a crown to that rejoicing when our beloved ones departed from us and we had cause to believe that they were at rest and peace *for ever* with the Lord? But if we desired to draw consolation from this we must look at their *lives* and at their *deaths*. I appealed to the audience whether they had not witnessed the faithful life of our dear Friend, and added that some of us whose privilege it was to be with him very near his end could give our testimony that there was not wanting evidence of his rest in Christ at that solemn time. In contemplating the end of a beloved friend we long for an answer to our question "My friend is it well with thee?" An answer is furnished in their lives and in their deaths — and more than this, it is given to the Christian believer in thus meditating on the dear ones taken from him sometimes in his better moments to feel a precious assurance from the Lord that *All is well.* Were there not hearts present to whom this experience was not strange as it respected our dear friend whose body we had but now consigned to the silent grave?" After me, C. Alsop added her testimony to dear Benjamin's rest in Christ, relating that when she said to him a few days before his death "Not through works of righteousness which we have done but of His mercy He saveth us" — and asked him if his dependance was on the Saviour he brightened up and replied "Oh! nowhere else." With this the meeting ended having been a solemn and I hope instructive time. I will conclude with a few particulars of his illness — On 6th day morning the 15th inst. about 10 o'clock I heard that he was ill and my wife and

I drove over at once. I remained with him till 3 p. m. He was quite sensible and able to converse without difficulty. I found he had walked into Woburn on the 3rd day previous and it had been too much for him. His housekeeper paid him every kind attention. He said to me "If thou writest to Maria Betts, tell her that I have every attention I could desire." He did not eat anything solid and only took a little beef-tea. I fed him with a spoon. He got me to pay his quarter's rent which became due to-day the 25th but he wished it settled. He signed his name to the cheque better than I expected. I left him apparently more comfortable. He was in his own little bedroom. The next day he saw several friends who had only learned his illness shortly before. Amongst those who called was his old friend Edward White from Ampthill. By him he wrote a letter to me quite in a cheerful strain and said he felt much better and thought he should be better. Ed. White is deaf and it must have been an exertion to him to dictate that letter and perhaps he saw too many and did more than was prudent that day. But he said to some who called that their company cheered him, and so no doubt it did. The next day was 1st day and I drove over and attended the meeting at the Sands intending to spend the afternoon with him. After meeting John Hewlatt told us that he was much worse and was wandering in his mind. The Doctor had also seen him and had pronounced him much worse. Harriet Letchworth then went in her carriage with the other friends and myself to Mount Pleasant. She and I alighted and I went up to him. Hearing that she was below, he said he would like to see her, so she went up for a few minutes. He was then quite conscious and seemed very pleased to see us and whilst she remained he was even animated. He however looked very ill, much worse than on the 6th day when I saw him. When she left I fed him with an orange. He was not in much pain, though at times uneasy. I dined at Lucy How's returning to him afterwards. He consented to my writing to his sister Priscilla Watts. He had not wished this on my previous visit. In the afternoon I read to him a portion of the second epistle of Paul to Timothy purposely concluding with those wonderful verses: "For I am now ready to be offered and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have

kept the faith." As I was beginning the next verse, he interrupted me saying: "A noble testimony that, but who of us can say it?" I reread the verses and the next one not without emotion. "Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord the righteous judge shall give me at that day and not to me only but to all them also that love his appearing." I thought what a blessed assurance was contained in these words for the humble believer, not indeed a Paul, but yet a believer in Jesus, — "*And not to me only, but to all them also that love his appearing*" I thought, but did not utter this. Perhaps by not uttering it I robbed myself and thee of some sweet words of our dear departed friend. We remained in reverent stillness for a while.

By his request I went to call upon the Doctor and passed a short time at our friends the Letchworths returning to his bedside soon after 6 o'clock.

I found he had had a visit from a good man in the village, which had pleased him, he said they had had some nice conversation. Before long the Doctor came, and with us he was cheerful and conversed about himself in his usual way. He felt thirsty and the Doctor said he might drink a little water every hour. Altogether he seemed much more comfortable than in the morning. I forgot to say that in the afternoon I carried him into the room which his housekeeper had prepared for me where he was much more comfortable than in his own little bed and room.

I persuaded him to allow himself to be moved because I said his sister would be more comfortable in the best bed-room than in his little chamber. He was most thoughtful about others and would not give the least trouble to any one — He said "Thou must give my love to Annie (my wife) and thank her for sparing thee to-day." — Just before I left I asked him whether there was anything he wished to say to me; he said "No I have nothing to say and I do not wish to think there is anything" — Thus intimating that all his affairs were off his mind — This is a great comfort to us, and it was to him, I have no doubt. Near the close of my visit, after I had fed him with some orange &c. he said "Thou art very kind" or something of the sort — I said — "We may do little things for one another, but how little

compared with what has been done for us" — He replied with emphasis "*Ah! indeed.*" Soon after 7 o'clock I left him: he then seemed more comfortable. I learn that he had not a good night, being troubled with some uneasiness. Thomas Letchworth was with him the following day and others saw him. At about $^1/_4$ or $^1/_2$ past 6 o'clock his gentle spirit was released. Lucy How was the last who saw him, I believe, except his housekeeper who tended him constantly. She tells me that though at the last he might have been unable to *speak,* she believes he was *perfectly conscious* to the very last moment. His breathing almost imperceptibly ceased, and so calm was his exit that the exact moment could not be determined.

"Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth; Yea saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours; and their works do follow them."

Thy friend

Theodore Harris.

Dr. A. Kuyper in his edition of Joannis a Lasco opera t. I. 1866 says p. LXV sq., speaking of those who assisted him in getting Lasco's different writings: Quos tamen omnes, si fas esset talia at trutinam appendere, vinceret facile et egrederetur candida benignitate et vere paterno quo me exceperit amore vir aestumatissimus Beniamin B. Wiffen, qui Woburniae, in ea Angliae, cui Bedfordshire nomen, provincia, sacrarum profanarumque litterarum studiis placide vitam impendit. Prompta semper benevolentia et iuvenili alacritate senex mihi potenter et efficacissime plus quam credi potest auxiliatus est. Undecunque ex Angliae refertissimis pretiosissimisque thesauris, quae aliquantulum mihi prodesse possent, sectatus est, congessit, excerpsit, mecumque denique communicavit. Quibus eum in modum me iuvenem sibi devinxit, ut quorum ipsi debeam memoriam haud facile deletura sit aetas et nullus dubitem, eius amicitiam (familiaritatem paene dixeram) in summae felicitatis meae parte ducere.

NOTICES AND EXPERIENCES

OF

BENJAMIN B. WIFFEN

IN RELATION TO THE WORKS OF THE EARLY SPANISH REFORMERS,

THEIR DISCOVERY AND REPUBLICATION

IN THE SERIES CALLED THE

REFORMISTAS ANTIGUOS ESPAÑOLES.

The interest which I have taken in the writings of the Spanish religious Reformers had its rise from a casual acquaintance, which ripened into a tender and enduring friendship with an enlightened Spanish nobleman Luis de Usoz i Rio. It began in the spring of the year 1839 and continued up to his death in 1865.

After visiting England, Luis and his wife returned to Spain in the autumn of 1841. Early in the following spring, I was a second time invited by my friend G. W. Alexander to accompany him to that country, and in the course of this journey I met my Spanish friends at Seville. Luis has himself reported his own impression of this interview in the 20th volume of his **Reformistas Antiguos Españoles** (page 156) he writes thus: "There is a sort "of literary proselytism, which is exercised unconsciously, and which "in relation to these books has come to be one of the sources of my "wealth. Years ago conversing with an Englishman, in the corridor "of the Hotel at Seville, where we were staying, about Spanish lite- "rature, I spoke to him of this branch of it, casually shewing him "an ancient copy of *Carrascon* which I had in my hand. *That* "Englishman was my friend Benjamin B. Wiffen, who was acquainted "with Garcilaso, but who did not at that time know the book which I "then shewed to him, nor any of its companions in misfortune, stu- "pidly registered in our Expurgatory Indexes. Without acknowledging "it at that time, Benjamin Wiffen was at once made a literary pro- "selyte, as unexpectedly to himself as to me. And looking at it more "closely in the sense which I attach to the word I shall call him "too, an indispensable proselyte. For I being a Spaniard and drug- "ged with no small dose of indolence or Spanish slowness, and resi- "dent in our hard Spain, where to seek these my loved books is

"almost as vain as it is dangerous, it was necessary for me to have "a friend out of Spain, some person as much a friend to myself as "to these books. Wiffen was that friend and the consequence of our "conversation at Seville was, that it concentrated his thoughts and "studies in the search for the works of those Spanish writers who "were persecuted for their attachment to Christian liberty." He then began a correspondence with me on this subject which was kept up (for more than 25 years) by my frequent commissions for books.

On my return from my second visit to Spain I found in a bookseller's catalogue, a tract in English, entitled "The Reformed Spaniard", by Juan de Nichôlas i Sacharles. I sent it to Luis to whom it was unknown even by name. He translated it into Spanish and inserted it, with the title *El Español Reformado,* in the 8th vol. of the Reformistas Antiguos Españoles. The author wrote it first in Latin, a copy of which is in the Library of the British Museum, with several others, of which I have not been able to purchase one. Perceiving in this incident a certain aptitude in me which might facilitate his object, Luis remitted to me a small sum of money with the request that I should send him, together with certain books of different kinds, all others of this *special* character that I might discover and could procure for him.

When resident in London Luis became acquainted with the Canon Riego, a Spanish Refugee, who was brother to the patriot Riego. He knew that the Canon possessed certain books which he highly valued, but which he had not succeeded in purchasing of him whilst he remained in London. Luis wrote to me to obtain them if he could be persuaded to sell them. These books were Valera's *Calvino* 1597, Juan Perez's *Psalms* 1557, and the *Epistola Consolatoria* 1560, an unknown work also by Juan Perez. I took an opportunity to see the Canon about them. I found him occupying two upstairs rooms in a house kept by a shoemaker in Seymour St. Camden Town. The front room was crowded with books, chiefly Spanish, for he was a dealer and combined love of money with love of books. The smaller back room served him for bedroom and kitchen where he slept and prepared his food, leaving barely space for a couple of chairs for himself and for a guest. He was shy to me about his books.

I candidly avowed my object, at the same time manifesting respect for him, as indeed I felt pity for his misfortunes, and sympathy with the cause that produced them. I did not however urge my wishes, and went away unsuccessful. After a lapse of some months, I again called upon him with my niece Isaline and repeated my desire to purchase the books, asking permission at least to look at them. He shewed me two of them, and for the third book, the "*Epistola*" substituted a written copy of his own for the printed one. I had been informed that the Canon would certainly try and expunge some offensive passages from the work, and I had been warned to be careful that the book was not mutilated or rendered imperfect. This interview also ended unsuccessfully. About six months afterwards, I called a third time on the Canon, avowing the same purpose, and the old man, yielding, somewhat to more familiar acquaintance, somewhat to my perseverance, perhaps forgetful of his caution, shewed me the printed *Epistola;* I had it in my hands but a few moments, and was looking through the leaves when he passionately snatched it away, and this third interview passed like the previous ones fruitlessly with the addition of a little troubled feeling between us. He had expressed his desire that the *Psalms* by Juan Perez should be printed and I had avowed my desire that the *Epistola* should be so. I again waited an interval of some months and then wishing to remove any unfavorable impressions that might remain on his mind from our last meeting, my residence being at a distance from London, I wrote to him kindly, asking him once more whether he was willing that I should purchase his books. He replied promptly that he was willing for a certain sum to send them. I answered I would give him the high price; and, aware now that I was not to be put off with a copy, he sent the three printed books down to me. On examination I found that he had obliterated a long passage in the *Epistola.* I regretted to see this, not only for the literary injury, but for the flaw in the Canon's moral integrity, the more so because he had many times declared to me how much he loved and honored the book and its author, saying that while the sentiments of the book were those of a Reformer, Perez could neither be considered a thorough Lutheran, nor a Calvinist. The passage, as I afterwards found,

was one in which he had a deep personal interest. It strongly condemned the folly and idolatry involved in the reverence or worship paid to relics. Riego himself was a Canon of the Church at Oviedo, where, of all places in the kingdom of Spain, are preserved at this day the most absurd and monstrous collection of these remains of humanity. I have a list of them, purchased on the spot, and the Canon Riego himself shared in the gain, derived from the ignorant and superstitions devotees. I returned all the books with rather a sharp letter, written however in a not unkindly spirit, charging him with having perpetrated a falsehood to posterity, upon an author and upon a book which he had declared he so much admired and loved. I judged it better to sacrifice the books so that I might awaken his moral integrity. He wrote me an angry reply and here seemed to be the end of the affair. I deemed the books entirely lost to me and endeavoured to forget them. After some time a strong impression came over me that the Canon who was an aged man would soon die, and that if I were ever likely to obtain his books I ought to write to him again. I knew by his former letter that he had felt my remarks and that was enough to fulfil my purpose. I therefore again wrote, and did so in a friendly manner, asking him if he would let me have the books. He replied in the same friendly tone, that if I would send him a draft, he would return the books and that he had moreover restored the passage he had obliterated, adding that it would give him much pleasure to assist me in printing it, correcting the press for me. A few days afterwards, the Canon was found speechless and dying, his heart had been chilled by the first frosty night of October 1846, and it had ceased to beat.

I. Ferdinando de Texeda.

Carrascon &c.

In the year 1847 Luis printed in Spain the curious and witty little book called Carrascon, which he had bought of a Spanish priest in the country, prefixing to it an introduction of seventy two pages. The composition of the work is gay and graceful in style, with a charming admixture of wit and of seriousness. It was so rare that as much as £ 12 had been given for a copy in London. The reprint of this little volume was Luis' first step towards carrying out his main design, and it constitutes the first volume of the series which he afterwards denominated *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.* The author was unknown; and a good deal of curiosity had been shewn by learned refugee Spaniards to discover his name, but without success. After it had been printed, Luis pointed out to my notice a passage in the author's address to the reader which seemed to him to have been purposely introduced in order that his name might thereafter he traced by any one who had the curiosity to search for it. The passage translated runs thus:*) "In England Tejeda wove four (webs): one in Latin which he marked with his name, *Texeda retextus* (the web rewoven); two others in English, the one entitled *Miracles Unmasked*, the other with a Latin title, *Scrutamini Scripturas.* In the last book I make the English Liturgy speak Spanish. The wise King James of happy memory ordered me to do this. He rewarded me for my labour with a Prebend in the worthy Cathedral of Hereford, and had God not shortly afterwards raised him to reign in His glorious Kingdom, His Majesty would have given me, as he himself promised, more than this, for he

*) Carrascon 2nd edition p. 6.

told me that the Prebend was but the first fruit of greater favours." The whole of the address is interesting.

I searched for the other works Tejeda mentioned, and discovered the author's name plainly avowed as Ferdinando de Texeda. I found him mentioned in Hackett's Life of the Chancellor, Archbishop Williams, as the translator of the English Liturgy into Spanish; again in Browne Willis' Survey of Cathedrals, as being Canon of Hereford; and he was incorporated at Oxford by the same name. I drew up a succinct statement of these evidences, which was afterwards printed as a second Appendix, though doubtless some copies were circulated before it could be added.

II. Juan Perez.

Epistola Consolatoria.

Desirous of sending this work to Madrid, I was unwilling to risk its loss in transmission, for I then held it to be the only copy extant, and I felt no less interested to preserve it for the edification of my own country than for that of Spain. I felt anxious to have its existence secured and multiplied by the press ere I parted with it.

Inexperienced as I then was, having purposed to reprint it in England, I first made a literal transcript page for page and line for line, rendering thus the printing of it a work of mere mechanical labour; but my desire went beyond a mere reproduction, I wished to associate some account of the author with it. I first searched M'Crie, and afterwards Llorente, and then obtained from another source particulars not known to M'Crie, which I arranged and embodied in an introductory notice; and in order to serve two purposes, I printed it in English and Spanish, as my friend Luis gladly translated it into his own language. This labour although so rapidly told in words, was accomplished but gradually, at intervals, spread over the course of several years. My means did not enable me to incur the expense of bringing out this work, but several of my friends came to my help. I prepared a list of the Spanish Reformers then known by me and printed the list, with the Epistola, at the end of the Spanish prefatory notice which is the germ of the *present Catalogue.**) I reprinted Juan Perez' *Epistola Consolatoria* in 1848, and it constitutes Vol. II. of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

*) Compare p. 5.

Breve Tratado de Doctrina.

Having heard of the valuable library possessed by George Offor of Hackney, I called upon him to inquire whether he possessed any books of the class Luis sought. He had no knowledge of such himself, but recommended me to call upon an acquaintance who lived in a dingy and doubtful back street in the neighbourhood of the Tower. Passing through a little office, I found a respectable and amiable looking gentleman and his middle aged son sitting at the tea table. I made my business known to them with some hesitation, which they quickly dispelled by asking me to take tea with them. Their kindness revived my spirits, and the younger man disclaiming any knowledge of books said, he had bought two little volumes with a miscellaneous lot of other things, which might be such as I inquired for. He shewed me two, bound in vellum, and placing them in my hand said "the little one, Sir," (and it was a very small one) "I will give you, and you shall give me for the other what you think to be its value." The larger one I well knew, for it was Valera's *Dos Tratados.* The little one I had never seen, or heard of, but I at once discerned its character, for though anonymous, it was identical in size, in letter and in appearance, with the Spanish original of the *Epistola Consolatoria* of which I had just finished the reprint. It appeared to be an unknown work by Juan Perez. It was the *Breve Tratado de Doctrina* of 1560. I retained the book some time in order to have it bound and to discover, if possible, some notices in reference to its origin, for I thought, I perceived by its arrangement and style, that much of it was but an expanded translation of some other earlier work. I found the original draft of it in the works of *Urbanus Regius*, in his tract *Novae doctrinae ad veterem collatio per Urbanum Regium MDXXVI.* Perez has made it a valuable book of controversial doctrine by additions of his own.

I sent it to Luis with notes of all that I could learn about it and of the manner in which it was found. He reprinted it in the year 1852, prefixing a dedication, delicately written and addressed to myself. The work constitutes Vol. VII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

Imajen del Antecristo.

Luis was known at Madrid as a purchaser of old and rare books. In the year 1847, a person in humble circumstances, who had been employed in the care of books, died and left a few of his own behind him. His widow wishing to dispose of them, made the first offer of them to Luis. They furnished him with four of his most desired treasures. These were: the *Imajen del Antecristo,* an unknown tract in Spanish, but which owed its origin centuries before to the writings of Wycliffe; the *Carta a Don Felipe II*; the two Commentaries of Valdés; and a rare copy of Valera's Spanish Bible of 1602, containing the dedication to Prince Maurice and the States General, not to be found in England. This copy is however not unique, there is another, and they both came, singularly enough, into the hands of private persons in Spain without being sought for. Luis had a few copies of the dedication reprinted. The *Imajen del Antecristo* and the *Carta a Don Felipe II,* he reprinted in 1849 in one volume, constituting Vol. III of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

Breve Sumario de Induljenzias.

When I printed the *Epistola Consolatorio* in 1848, I entertained the opinion that the book might be unique; but the researches of a friend, to whom I had given the title, issued in the discovery of a second copy in an obscure place in Edinburgh. He sent it to me by post and had bought it for a shilling. The volume contained not only the *Epistola,* and the *Breve Tratado* of 1560, but an unknown tract of the same author, the *Breve Sumario.*

I had already furnished Luis with the two first, and he had reprinted them.

I had learnt from the Preface of an ancient English translation of the *Epistola,* that the translator John Daniel had also translated another tract from the Spanish. I had found the title of the *Breve Sumario,* in Maitland's Catalogue of such English books as were printed before

the year 1600, in Lambeth library. I went to Lambeth and was allowed to copy this English translation, which transcript had lain by me for some years. I now found in the *Breve Sumario* the Spanish original of the English Tract of John Daniel. It seemed as if the previously unknown tract at the end of this despised and neglected volume, had fled, as it were, from utter destruction, into my hands for preservation. I wished to retain this volume, the only copy I knew of in this country, having first supplied my friend. I prepared to reprint the *Breve Sumario,* thinking to add John Daniel's English translation, and had even drawn up an introduction, which was to have been inserted in English and Spanish. I fell however into a state of chronic ill-health, when just on the point of beginning, and now I despaired of accomplishing the design.

There lived in my neighbourhood a village girl whom I had instructed in the manner of making *fac-similes* of the titles of books. She took readily to the art and executed it with fidelity and grace; she readily made for me a *fac-simile* of the *Breve Sumario,* part of which, printed in very small type, required more than usual precision and clearness of vision. It was indeed beautifully done and was a gem when bound as a small quarto in green morocco. I sent it together with my introduction and notes to Luis. Luis edited the tract, rewriting my introduction, and added other interesting information to it, particularly a long intercepted letter of Antonio del Corro's to Cassiodoro de Reyna, relative to the printing of the Spanish Bible, which he was about to print at *an old castle in Navarre.* The *Breve Sumario* was printed in 1862 in a very small size, as much as could be in *fac-simile,* and it constitutes Vol. XVIII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

III. Franzisco de Enzinas, alias Dryander, alias Françoys du Chesne.

Spanish version of New Testament.
Histoire de l'Estat du Pais Bas et de la religion d'Espagne
printed both in French and Latin.
Dos Informaziones. Letters.

Acquainted with what M'Crie and Gerdes hat written about Enzinas, I earnestly sought for whatever related to him. In Gerdes' Florilegium is mentioned a work with a French title as written by Enzinas, which I knew contained the narrative of the imprisonment he underwent for having presumed to publish his, the first Castilian, version of the New Testament. I found also that John Foxe the martyrologist had read it from the Latin M. S. at Basle, the M. S. being then in the hands of John Oporinus the printer. This M. S., this book as Foxe calls it, was printed in Latin by Enzinas for Melanchthon, and from it, Foxe drew the information about Enzinas which he inserted in his Martyrology.

My friend James Hurnard of Colchester went to Paris to attend the Peace Congress, and made inquiries for me about such books and fortunately procured of a bookseller in the Palais Royal a small volume entitled *Histoire de l'estat du Pais Bas 1558* which being in French did not seem to be of the kind sought, nor was it one of the titles with which I had furnished him. The Bookseller remarked either by way of reprobation or recommendation "it is a bad book, Monsieur, written against the Pope and the Church, and the author was a bad man enough." This was sufficient to decide my friend's doubts, although the Bookseller asked what seemed to him an extravagant price for it. He, however, laid down the sum, resolving to present the book to me, that if it should prove worthless, at least it should not tax my pocket to pay for it. It proved to be the translation of the very work I had so earnestly sought for in Latin and Spanish. It was this French translation of Enzinas' Latin narrative of his imprisonment at Brussels, that furnished Gerdes with his information, from

whom again M'Crie drew his. Continuing my inquiries now more frequently for the Latin M. S. I found its existence mentioned so lately as about the year 1740. I was at length informed that it was preserved in the Library of the Johanneum at Altona. I lost no time in procuring a careful transcript of it. I found that some leaves at the beginning were lost, and that it was not the author's autograph, but a copy. In other respects it was complete and tolerably correct. A copy of the French translation had been found in the Royal Library at Brussels by M. Ch. Al. Campan, and because it had reference to the history of Belgium, La société de l'histoire de la Belgique commissioned him to edit it for publication. He procured a copy of the Latin M. S. and carefully edited the French and Latin with notes.

There were other works of Enzinas yet to be discovered. I had found, in the Catalogue of La Serna Santander, the anonymous title of *Dos Informaziones.* This volume was reported to me as existing in the Library of the University of Göttingen by Dr. Hoeck the Curator. With ready courtesy, and a confidence for which I shall ever feel grateful, he sent it to the Hanoverian Secretary of Legation in London, for my use. I at once copied it in my usual manner, page for page, and line for line, and speedily returned the original to Göttingen through the same channel. I forwarded my copy of it with notices and remarks to my friend Luis. The work had been edited and enlarged by Juan Perez. Luis printed the copy I sent him, in the year 1857, enlarging it with documents and observations to an extent almost equal to the text, and it constitutes Vol. XII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

By degrees I gathered a large mass of Enzinas' letters, some printed and scattered in various books; the larger portion however yet remaining in M. S. in the Archives or the Libraries of Zurich, Gotha and the Protestant Seminary of Strasbourg. How pleasant it is to me here to mention the kind and laborious zeal of Dr. Carl Schmidt, Professor of Strasbourg, in one of the very earliest schools of learning founded by the Protestants at the time of the Reformation, who made the copies with his own hands not only of Enzinas' letters, but of those of Juan Diaz, of whom I shall speak afterwards.

IV. Zipriano de Valera.

Los dos Tratados del Papa i de la Misa, &c.

Luis obtained Valera's *Dos Tratados* of 1599 in Spain, while I purchased for him of the eminent bookseller Thomas Rodd the first edition of 1588, and furnished him with various notes and notices of the English translation. Luis prepared the M. S. of this large work, and reprinted it in the year 1851, and it constitutes Vol. VI of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

I found two unacknowledged tracts of Valera's, in the British Museum Library, *Tratado para confirmar en la Fe Christiana* 1594 and *Aviso a los de la Iglesia Romana sobre Jubileos* 1600. I obtained copies of them and sent them to Luis with another tract, *The Reformed Spaniard* by Juan de Nicholas i Sacharles, in English, never having found the Latin *for sale,* which as I have previously said he translated into Spanish and placed it with Valera's two treatises, which he reprinted in 1854 in one volume. They constitute Vol. VIII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

Instituzion Religiosa escrita por Juan Calvino traduzida al Castellano.

One of the three books I had obtained from the Canon Riego was the Spanish translation of Calvin's Institutes by Valera, printed by Ricardo del Campo (Richard Field) 1597, a book which, although frequently found on the shelves of large public Libraries, is however scarcely to be obtained by private persons. Luis therefore carefully revised and prepared it for reprinting and issued it in a very thick quarto volume in the year 1858, and it constitutes Vol. XIV of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

V. Dr. Constantino Ponze de la Fuente.

Suma de Doctrina, Catezismo Cristiano, Confesion de un Pecador &c.

About the year 1842, Luis had procured at Lisbon Dr. Constantino's *Suma de Doctrina,* Sevilla 1551. The book is not Protestant in its sentiments, but it is scriptural and truthful, and endeavours to enforce sincere piety. It is simple in form and is of the purest Spanish, by one of the most eloquent preachers of his age. Luis desired greatly to reprint it. He found other works of Dr. Constantino mentioned by Nicolas Antonio, and the *Confession of a Penitent Sinner* in Gerdes' Miscellanea Groningana, in French. He requested me to seek for these books and especially the Confession in Spanish. I found in the Bodleian Library the *Doctrina Cristiana, primera parte* Anvers 1554, and I learned that a copy of it had been sold by C. J. Stewart to Archdeacon Churton. The *Doctrina Cristiana* is not the same work as the *Suma de Doctrina.* The former was planned for a larger work on Christian Doctrine, but was never completed, because the author became suspected by the Inquisition and he perished prematurely in its dungeons at Seville. I procured a copy of this *Doctrina Cristiana* Anvers 1554 from Augsburg and sent it to Luis. From inquiry pushed amongst the Foreign Libraries I fortunately found an earlier edition of the *Suma,* namely one *impresa en Sevilla 1545,* and what was more to the purpose, the *Catezismo Cristiano* with *Confesion de un Pecador penitente* in I Vol., *En Anvers 1556,* preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels. A copy of these was procured and sent to Madrid. Another mutilated edition of the *Suma de Doctrina* was found in Trinity Library Dublin, from which a copy of *El Sermon que nuestro Señor Jesu Cristo hizo en el monte,* was made in order to correct another. The *Suma, Sermon, Catczismo* and *Confesion* were carefully edited, with critical notes and biographical notices upon the author as an appendix. I supplied fac-simile titles and Luis reprinted it in 1863. It constitutes Vol. XIX of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

VI. Juan Diaz.

Pursuing my search for books of this class, I introduced myself in 1848 by correspondence to a gentleman who occupied an official appointment in one of the Government Departments in London. He directed his attention to the literature of Elizabeth's age and more especially to pamphlets. He had a wonderful collection of these in bundles, containing thousands, yet had no knowledge of the class I sought for, though he had written many quires of titles taken from Ames and Dibden, the British Museum and Bodleian Catalogues. However, in the year 1850 I think, he sent me down by the benevolent book post, a Latin book without its covers. It was *Historia Vera de Morte sancti viri Joannis Diazij Hispani 1546.* I immediately sat down and copied it in my usual way, page for page, line for line. I had no expectation that my correspondent would part with the book, but I had hoped that his more favorable circumstances might find me another copy. I soon returned it to him, telling him that I had copied it, and expressed my wishes by this doggrel:

"Go little book, go mournful book,
"The sigh thou leav'st behind thee
"Will make me look in every nook
"And ask my friends by hook by crook
"To seek again to find thee."

Started I think by such unusual language, my friendly correspondent immediately presented me with the same copy, accompanied by a kind and graceful letter saying that he was ashamed to have caused me the labour of transcribing it. I had the book choicely bound in green morocco, and sent it together with my transcript to Luis inserting the following slipshod stanza:

"Go little volume, on thy destined way
"To a far country, to a distant clime.
"Learn thou to speak a foreign tongue and say
"I send thee as a gift for future time

"Its literature to grace, and to convey
"Knowledge of rueful deeds, and thoughts sublime.
"Say this, and add: I was sent here to speak
"Hope to the fainting heart and solace to the meek."

When searching for the letters of Franzisco de Enzinas (Dryander), I found unpublished letters by Juan Diaz himself addressed to Ochino, to Enzinas and to Calvin, with other letters making mention of him, and I procured an excellent portrait of him engraved on wood, after the one in Beza's *Icones* 1580.

The Latin original of the book *Historia vera* &c. we found, from Enzinas' letters, to have been edited, if not composed, by Enzinas; Senarclaeus (Claude Senarcle) might have furnished him with the details of the tragedy. Luis translated the *Historia vera* into Spanish; the letters &c. he printed in Latin and Spanish, adding observations and an Index. He printed the volume handsomely in 1865 a few months before his death, and it constitutes Vol. XX of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

VII. Juan de Valdés.

Many years before my friendship with Luis Usoz i Rio, and while my time was occupied in business, I had occasion to journey to a distant religious meeting, with an aged Quaker friend who possessed an ancestral and neglected library in the neighbourhood where I resided. As we jogged on together in his little pony chaise, my conversation turned upon what would be done with his books after his death, for he had no children to succeed him. As I questioned him about the rareness and value of some of them, he mentioned that the library contained one old work by a Spaniard which represented essentially the principles of George Fox. Nothing could be further from my thoughts at that time, than that I should have to do with ancient Spanish literature; but years having rolled on, I was from physical weakness thrown, against my own will, into a state of leisure, and wanted occupation. It was as I sat in my home at Aspley Guise beside the winter fire, in the very parish where that library was, and when the search after the early Reformers had become interesting to me, that that long forgotten conversation recurred to me. I now called to mind that a book containing principles like those of the Quakers and written by a Spaniard was actually existing within arm's length, as it were, in the library of my friend. It was still there, though he had died several years before. I procured the Catalogue written in a most minute hand, and in it I found the name of John Valdesso. This I supposed to be the volume my friend had mentioned. But there was no indication in what part of the library it was to be found. Determined, not to leave it unascertained, I at last fixed upon the upper corner of one of the sides of the large apartment. I took down every book that presented itself and read its title, resolved to leave nothing in uncertainty. After two or three days, and when I had looked over about four fifths of the whole, I came upon the book itself, and with the owner's permission brought it home to read. The book was Juan de Valdés' *CX Divine Considerationi,* and this was my first acquaintance

with its author. The work was quite unknown to Luis, who, however, even at this time, possessed an original copy of the *Diálogo de Mercurio i Caron.* This discovery like the finding of De Montes' work led thereafter to the restoration of Juan de Valdés' other various and unknown works, namely: the *Dos Diálogos,* containing the *Diálogo entre Lactanzio i un Arzediano* as well as that of *Mercurio i Caron;* the *Alfabeto Cristiano;* the *Ziento i diez Consideraziones* of three editions, and his Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and First Epistle to the Corinthians.

Dos Diálogos.

I first saw the *Diálogo de Lactanzio i un Arzediano* at Trinity College, Cambridge. The Librarian permitted me to copy it, which I did, and I immediately transmitted the sheets to Luis as they were written in Trinity library; and some time afterwards I sent him a copy of the black letter edition which is in the British Museum library, in order that he might compare the two readings.

Luis reprinted it in 1850 with the *Diálogo de Mercurio i Caron* and issued them in a handsome and accurate volume, perhaps the most valuable of the series of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.* It constitutes Vol. IV.

Commentaries on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans and on his first Epistle to the Corinthians.

In Trinity College, Cambridge, I made my first acquaintance with these Commentaries of Juan de Valdés. Every day, and not merely every year, showed advance in Luis' labour of love. In the year 1855 he had prepared copies of the two Commentaries of Valdés with explanatory notes occupying 60 pages, which he placed at the

end of the Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. He appended his notes to both Commentaries at the end of the one volume in which he published them, doing so exactly three centuries after the first publication of the Commentary on the Romans. Juan de Valdés dedicated the Romans to Giulia Gonzaga, and his countryman Juan Perez edited and printed the Commentaries at Geneva. They constitute Volumes X and XI of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

Alfabeto Cristiano

in Italian, Spanish and English.

I have stated in the prefatory notice to the Epistola Consolatoria, reprinted in 1848, that my purpose, in restoring such long forgotten books, was mainly addressed to the multiplication of copies, and their preservation in the great National and University Libraries, both at home and abroad, where they would remain secured from dispersion by alienation, and from destruction by carelessness. There, they would be found when the activity of inquiring minds should be excited to search for them and to bring them into popular use. No merely sectarian or proselyting motive suggested this course, but it was suggested by a love of books and of literature, and a feeling, be it called obstinate or generous as it may, that the persecuted victims of literature should find a voice in after ages, and protectors from the cruelty and bigotry of the ruling powers of their own times. In short, that the fires, which had consumed the bodies of men, should not be so absolutely successful as to turn out the teachings of their minds from the earth, so that it might be said:

"For every tome of price destroyed
"A double volume fills the void
"Of nobler pages,
"Burn on ye zealots of a day,
"For so ye herald Freedom's way
"And speed the ages!

I cherished such views as these in relation to the *Alfabeto Christiano;* I desired to have the unique copy of it, which I possessed, (it is in Italian) reproduced by reprinting it, enriched and illustrated with notes from the pen of my coadjutor Luis. I have related in my preface to my English translation of the Alfabeto the incidents and mode of its discovery; and well do I recall the pleasure with which I first read it, pen in hand, jotting down each sentence as it passed through my mind. I may here tell of the solicitude I felt, when about to expose this only copy to all the perils of travel, in transmitting it to Luis at Madrid, for I had made it a rule of my conduct to sacrifice the choicest objects to him, whose superior talents and learning, I was well persuaded would make better use of them than I could. I only laid upon him a request that the Italian original might be *literally* reprinted. Years passed on, expecting that some time or other Luis would find the opportunity to do this, increasing the value of the work by his well furnished notes. As the volume demonstrated to a certainty a point upon which doubts had been thrown, namely the intimate intercourse of Juan de Valdés with Giulia Gonzaga, I took every occasion to increase my information about Giulia, drawing it only from sources of the first authority. The Chief Librarian of the British Museum directed me to Count Litta's magnificent work *Memorie di Celebri Famiglie Italiane.* In the account of the Sabbionetta branch of the Gonzaga family, there is the mention of some books relating to Giulia, and in Ireneo Affò's *Memorie di tre principesse* I found what I desired given with indisputable authority.

Luis had despaired of being able to reprint the Alfabeto in his own country. If other obstacles were not in the way, he wished to obtain a *fac-simile* reprint, and he knew of no printer there who could execute it. Hence he wrote to ask me, if I could undertake it, stating the difficulties he was under. I shrank from the responsibility, yet my desire overcame my doubts and hesitation. I replied that I would do it, and as it would be executed in England, it might be accompanied by the English translation which I had already roughly prepared when I first read the book. I wished also that some information should be added respecting the personages mentioned in the work. My acquiescence gratified him; he prepared his Spanish translation

that the reprint might go out together with the *two* translations as an evidence of our love for the author, and our mutual friendship one for the other. He prepared and sent me over a beautiful transcript of the Italian, done by his own hand, and afterwards returned the precious original by which to correct the transcript which was placed in the hands of Mess^{rs} Spottiswoode & C^{o}, who employed a new fount of Italic letter for the purpose. This was the cause of some trouble, and even with all our care, of some slight errors in the finished book. The proofs and the finished sheets were sent to Luis as they successively appeared. He was charmed with the beauty of the character, and gave the printer his unqualified praise. Luis had sent me his Spanish translation of the Alfabeto in parts. I had proceeded with the revision and the preparation of a fresh copy of my English translation and with the prefatory notice of Valdés and Giulia Gonzaga, which I wrote out five times; and whether the effort to do the subject justice, issued at last in a manner worthy of the time and labour it absorbed, is not for me to determine. It was satisfaction enough to me at the conclusion to learn that it more than satisfied my friend, who repeatedly expressed it in his letters, and even his admiration of the volume.

At the same time that the Polyglot was printed, a hundred extra copies of the English translation were taken off for publication and for presents to friends. This work, now completed and executed entirely at the cost of Luis, except as to my personal share in it, the precious original was again sent back to him in safety. The Polyglot edition of the Alfabeto Christiano constitutes Vol. XV of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

Ziento i diez Consideraziones.

In Trinity Library, Cambridge, I first discovered the Italian version of *Le Cento e dieci divine Considerazioni* of which I requested the loan, and occupied the lengthening hours of the evenings in the autumn of 1850 in copying it literally, page for page, line for line, 15,000 lines, finishing it about the anniversary of my 60th year. I had the transcript well bound, a portrait of Giulia Gonzaga inserted, and sent the M. S. volume to Luis at Madrid. He considered it a pledge of duty to the labour I had taken, not to be sparing of his own, and began to translate it gradually into Spanish, the language in which the author Juan de Valdés had first written it, but which version had either perished, had never been printed, or having been printed has been wholly destroyed. Luis printed it in 1855, and it constitutes Vol. IX of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

Le Cento e dieci divine Considerazioni of 1550.

I had succeeded in procuring from Augsburg a copy of this Italian original and had sent it to Luis.

Thinking that some of the Spanish Reformers books might be preserved in Holland, I ventured to write a letter of inquiry to Frederick Muller of Amsterdam, who referred my letter to his son, a very intelligent antiquarian bookseller there. My letter gave him the scent of game, and he hunted, as he literally said, for me in the purlieus of that city. As the result, he sent me a copy of the Italian original of *"Le Cento e dieci divine Considerazioni"* 1550, which I now possess, and which belonged to Acronius, a Frisian who occupied the Chairs of Mathematics and of Medicine at Basle at the time it was printed, and who must have known its editor Curione. I thought the sum of two pounds five shillings a moderate price for such a treasure. On a casual visit of my friend Frederick Seebohm, I showed him the book, and told him how I prized it, and how much I wished, it could be multiplied. He merely asked the probable expense of such an undertaking, but said no more.

I had heard that a young gentleman, named Edw. Boehmer, residing at Halle, had found a copy of this same book in Francke's Orphan School there, and that he had got it written out as I had done, and sent it to an English gentleman who had expressed the wish to have it, in order to get it printed. This gentleman sent it to other friends and it was lost. Thinking that Mr. Boehmer must be a man who felt a like interest with me in these subjects, I wrote to him, while he, having read my name and address in some publication, wrote to me. By this singular, but perhaps not uncommon coincidence, when minds at a distance are drawn in thought towards each other, our letters crossed, thus making two strangers, friends at once.

I had thought no more of Frederick Seebohm, nor had I suspected the sentiment which the sight of *Le Cento e dieci divine Considerazioni* had implanted in his mind, when I received a letter from him unexpectedly, with these words: "the money is ready, you may print the book as soon as you please". I communicated this to Dr. Boehmer, asking him to do it for love, not money, save for the printer's expenses. He readily embraced the offer; with alacrity he caused another transcript to be made by the hand of an intelligent Italian who modernized the orthography, while Dr. Boehmer, with the characteristics of a critical German mind, edited and passed it through the press. I requested the Doctor to add increased value to his labour by affixing a memoir or notice of Juan de Valdés; with great industry and research he produced as an appendix to the work his "*Cenni Biografici sui Fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso di Valdesso*". It is a valuable production calculated for the student rather than the general reader, and needs an index to assist his reference. Only 300 copies were printed, not quite half of them for sale. It issued in 1861 and does not form one of the series of the Reformistas, yet, like the work of Enzinas by M. Campan, it stands in intimate relation to that series, and with both of which I may be said to have had some part.

The Hamburg M. S. of the Ziento i diez Consideraziones.

Looking over the *Bibliotheca Uffenbachiana* Francofurti 1730, at Tomus III p. 578-9 I found the title of the Spanish CX Considerations in M. S. with the date 1558, translated from the Italian, which could not be the original of Valdes, because it was dated 18 years after his death, and expressly says: *Traducidas del Ytaliano en Romançe* (Spanish). But, without doubt, it was a translation from the printed Italian of 1550 by a Spaniard inclined to the Reformed religion. In 1730 it was in the possession of Conrad Uffenbach, whose library was sold at Frankfurt by auction and scattered in many directions. How could I hope to find this desirable M. S.? I made inquiries for it wherever I could in Germany. After a number of years Dr. Ewald of Gotha informed me that it was purchased with other MSS. by the City Library of Hamburg. There it was found and I was able to obtain a careful transcript of it, executed by Dr. Bernhardi under the superintendence of Dr. Petersen. The transcript was long in hand. It however came over to England at last, and was forwarded to Luis at Madrid, who printed it under various and peculiar difficulties. It has a fac-simile of the 1st Consideration of the M. S. and constitutes Vol. XVI of the series of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

Ziento i diez Consideraziones

an improved Spanish version.

The Hamburg M. S. of the CX Considerations had furnished fresh readings, and given a different turn to the sense of some sentences of this work, by the different way in which the ancient author understood some of the parenthetical clauses of the Italian original. Luis became dissatisfied with his translation of 1855. He made an improved version, and determined to have it printed in the Italic letter which he so much admired in the Alfabeto Christiano, to distinguish it from the former edition. This could only be done in England, and Luis wrote to me to undertake the superintendence of it. My years had advanced to the going down of the dial; not expecting that my sun

like Hezekiah's could be retarded in its setting, I was very unwilling to accept the responsibility, apprehensive that life might fail me in the middle of it. Persuaded however to think more of the author than of myself, I accepted the duty in the winter of 1861-62. The corrected copy was sent to me and was put into the hands of the printer early in the summer of 1862.

At this opportunity of producing a new edition, I earnestly desired that it should be accompanied by a life of Juan de Valdés, especially as seen from the Spanish side. I requested, I repeated the request, I urged my friend Luis to prepare it. He knew all about Valdés that I knew, for I had kept his information from time to time up to my own, and he had a familiar knowledge of whatever his countrymen had written. Practised in study and in criticism, the habit of his mind was fixed. It could make selections, draw conclusions, and resolve points of critical accuracy, but his mind could not direct its thoughts into a current of continuous narrative.

I had myself found, in the notice to the Alfabeto Christiano how difficult this was to do with regard to the interrupted incidents of a biography, of which so little was known as that of Valdés. I saw that it was beside Luis' way of thought to do this. I requested him however to select all the correspondence of the brothers Valdés with Erasmus, and to gather any other documents which might serve for materials for the future use, of any one who might undertake to execute the main purpose I had in view. Without the slightest prospect, it is singular that I, myself, was to be the person, who first should use them for this purpose.

As the printed text of the CX Considerations proceeded, Luis sent me over the sheets of critical variations occupying 31 pages closely printed of the finished book, and from time to time the documents etc., which placed as an appendix occupied 253 printed pages. I placed fac-simile titles of the various editions, 14 in number, in order to show at a glance the history as it were of the book, and I placed at the end an index to the appendix, so much needed to the edition of Dr. Boehmer, and this, as I said before, I was, unexpectedly to myself, the first to make use of. The volume was finished in the autumn of 1863. It was greatly admired by Luis who sent the

highest compliments to the printer G. A. Claro del Bosque (Spottiswoode and C°.), and it constitutes Vol. XVII of the *Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.*

I have now mentioned the incidents connected with the reprinting of the 20 volumes of this series called *Los Reformistas Antiguos Españoles.* With the exception of one volume they were executed solely at Luis' cost and were prepared solely by our joint labours. His was the first conception of the object. This conception proceeded not by any plan or scheme of arrangement, but simply as circumstances arose to favor its development. The learning was his, so was the talent and the outlay; mine, were the advantages of liberty and free action, and residence in a country which furnished the readiest means for the acquisition of this kind of knowledge. We both were favored with leisure, we both had the simple and independent means of livelihood, we wanted no more. We both repudiated the thought of accepting assistance from any society or association, for our views were not mercenary, neither were they directed to immediate, but future results, because we firmly believed that these results would manifest themselves long after we had ceased to live.

Life and Writings of Juan de Valdés.

As mentioned before, the reprint of the original Italian version of CX Considerations was brought out at Halle under the supervision of Dr. Boehmer, and did not of itself form one of the series of the Reformistas. The funds for the printing were furnished, as I have related, by my friend Frederick Seebohm. When the volume was finished and bound, a certain number of copies were sent to him, in order that such of his friends who had contributed, should possess them. Amongst these friends and subscribers, was John T. Betts of Pembury Kent, a gentleman then residing near Hitchin, whom Frederick Seebohm frequently met on the railway, and whose free and boundless topics of conversation showed that he had travelled much and had

studied peoples and their languages. He frankly gave his aid, and when finished, a copy of the work was sent to him. He spoke Italian with fluency and correctness, for he had lived a long while in Italy, and being now returned home, found an unknown book in the language he loved. Attracted by its subject and style, and not knowing that the work had ever been published in England, he sat down to translate it.

So much had been done for these Divine Considerations, in Dr. Boehmer's Italian reprint and Luis' three Spanish editions, that I had long desired to find some one who would prepare *con amore* an English translation, equal to Nicholas Ferrar's in correctness, but refined from his quaint and obsolete language. I had long waited in vain, little thinking that there was a person already engaged on a first version, that person being ignorant at that time of Nicholas Ferrar's translation.

When John Betts became acquainted with the *origin* of the Italian reprint, he sought my acquaintance. He had then done about a third of the work; and proceeded with alacrity with the remainder, assisted by his intelligent and skilful wife as amanuensis.

I had striven to obtain an authentic narrative account of the two brothers Valdés from two or three more able writers than myself, and had been dissatisfied with the attempts. Another opportunity now presented itself. The translator, unfamiliar with the sources of information from which I drew my own knowledge, necessarily devolved the labour of this task upon me, which I saw could not be avoided if it were now to be done at all.

Aided by the same excellent amanuensis, I sketched out the plan with her, nor had I occasion once to vary from it. I had but to fill it up in order to complete it. Every day witnessed our pleasant progress. The hours of composition, of study or of writting, were only interrupted by charming drives in the romantic neighbourhood of Tunbridge Wells; for we were settled for the summer months at a cottage in a primitive village, almost within sight of that fashionable town.

I added to the *Life and writings of Juan de Valdés,* 13 titles in fac-simile of the CX Considerations and an index; with a portrait of Giulia Gonzaga, executed on wood for our private copies. My friend

John T. Betts took the responsibility of publishing the joint work; I the revision and correction of the proof sheets, whilst he was absent in Spain, visiting my friend Luis. The work was published at the close of the Year 1865.

Up to the printing of the finished sheets of the *Life and writings of Valdés,* Luis was yet living. They were sent to him from time to time as they were finished. He read them all. I need not affect modesty in quoting his opinion of them, for I know the sincerity and rigid truthfulness of his mind and hence the value of his criticism more than that of any man, because he had the best knowledge of the subject itself. I quote from several passages in his letters:

3 Mo. 31th 1865.

"I received the sheets of the Life of Juan de Valdés which I have "read with great interest and pleasure. Except the two mistakes noted "above, I think them very good, and truthful in general. They are "a proof of your diligent industry and love to our friend Juan de Valdés."

"I think that the volume must be appreciated in England by "every lover of good books. Take care of yourself. May God pro- "long your days. Yours very affectionately Luis." Alas! he was then himself in ill health. I was tenderly anxious for the continuance of *his* days. *His* wishes for me have been verified, so have *my* fears for him!

Luis repeated a desire for the early issue of the volume, but did not live to witness its publication.

My friend Luis de Usoz i Rio died on the 17th of August 1865 at the age of 59 Years and 9 Months.

The death of my friend seemed to bring a natural conclusion to our mutual pursuits. With him the *animus* was withdrawn from me, and the active interest I had taken in them seemed almost at once to cease. There remained however one thing which I had proposed to his consideration several years before this. It was, that he should prepare a *Bibliotheca* or detailed Catalogue of all the ascertained works of the Spanish Reformers. This I thought might establish them as a *class* of writers; a class of which their countrymen were almost entirely ignorant, and might serve as a manual for any person in his

search to find them. I collected and transmitted to Luis from time to time materials for this purpose. He did not live to make use of them, and it now devolved upon me, if ever it were accomplished, to accept the duty myself and carry out my own suggestion which his most careful accuracy would have performed more happily. Such are the simple circumstances which have led to the production of the present volume and it can only be wished that it may be found of some use to those who would desire to pursue with greater success the object which has given birth to it.

Benjamin B. Wiffen

Aspley Guise
Woburn
9 Mo. 7th 1866.

Extracts

from

Benjamin B. Wiffen's correspondence with Edward Boehmer

with some introductory remarks.

During the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in 1851, I was staying, with Dr. Tholuck, whom I had accompanied from Halle, at Belvedere the country-seat of Sir Culling E. Eardley, near Erith. There Dr. Tholuck was presented, by Don Juan Calderon, editor of the Spanish journal then appearing at London, *El examen libre* the continuation of his *Catolicismo neto*, with a copy of Adolfo de Castro's *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles*, printed in the same year at Cadiz. From this book I took a warm interest in the Spanish Reformers. In Halle, in Francke's Orphan-House library, I got Valdés' commentary on the *Epistle to the Romans*, and his *Considerations* in Italian; this latter work could not be found, but at last I discovered the volume which had fallen behind into another row. In the next year I introduced de Castro's history to the German public by an article in the *Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben*, founded by J. Müller, Neander and Nitzsch, nrs. 13 and 14. The winter from 1852 – 53 I passed in Italy. At Florence I interested an English friend for Juan Valdés, especially for the *Cento e dieci divine considerazioni*, which I wished to get reprinted, and as he fell in with my idea, I got a manuscript copy from Halle, the copyist being paied by Count Adolphus von Arnim-Blumberg. This manuscript, however, has neither been printed, nor has it been sent back to us. In 1855 a friend of mine tried in vain to find me an English publisher for new editions of the Italian Considerations, of the *Due dialoghi* and of the two Spanish commentaries by the same author. In the spring of 1858 I had the pleasure of making at Cadiz the personal acquaintance of Don Adolfo de Castro. Soon afterwards I bought at Madrid the volumes I. III. VI. IX. X. XI. XII of the series of Usóz' *Reformistas Españoles*. The bookseller, whom I asked whether he perchance had old or new editions of Spanish Reformers books of the sixteenth century, at first did not seem to care anything about such literature, but when I showed him his address written by the hand of a certain friend of his, whose name, however, was not mentioned between us, he remarked, that he might perhaps satisfy me the next day. Accordingly he sent me the above mentioned volumes to my hotel.

It was in the notes to the Spanish translation of Valdés' considerations, that I read, while still at Madrid, for the first time in my life, the name of B. B. Wiffen, together with his address: Mount Pleasant, Woburn, Bedfordshire.

When returned from my journey, I wrote to him from Halle, specially wishing to know, where to get the reprint of the Valdésian *Dos diálogos*, which the Madrid bookseller had not got and could not readily procure. This my first letter was written September 15. 1858*); Mr. Wiffen answered on the 27th "Esteemed friend. Your letter dated Halle Sept. 15th reached Woburn on the 17th while I was absent in London. I did not receive it until late, on my return, the 27th... And now I may say that the receipt of your letter has given me the liveliest satisfaction. Because, I had heard a year ago that you had written a Biography of Juan de Valdés, and, believing that you could give or procure some information about him for myself, I had wished for a long time to write to you on this subject; but I was restrained by too much diffidence, which your very acceptable letter has now removed." Touching my wish, to make a new edition of Valdés' Considerations, he said: "It gives me great pleasure to learn from you that you think to print this precious religious work..." As for the *Dos diálogos*, "I think", he said, "a copy in Spanish can be procured from Messrs Asher & Co., Berlin."

In one of my next letters I asked: "Do you object to my mentioning publicly your editions? I do not see why you should." He replied (10 mo. 6): "I do not object to your quoting with due care and prudence the modern reprints of Valdés' books. But I request you, not to mention them as mine, nor to mention them as a *series* of reprints. I have no objection to your mention of my name in a quiet way as an admirer etc. of these books. *Wisdom is profitable for all things.* And *He that believeth maketh not haste*... I thank you", he says with reference to another point of my last letter, "most truly, for your kind and generous offer to make over to me all your materials, if I think of writing a Biography of these worthies [the brothers Valdés], or to send me the finished piece, if I would add to it and publish it. Alas, my friend, I dare not undertake to avail myself of the treasure, my physical powers and health are so deficient, that I can only

*) On the 29. of the same month I wrote again, in order to tell him not to write to Heidelberg, as I first had asked him to do, thinking I should go there, but to Halle. My second letter crossed Wiffen's first. This explains his error, above p. 51. I have Mr. Wiffen's letters to me and my letters to him now before me, these having, at my wish, been kindly transmitted to me by his executors. Mr. Wiffen has always marked the day of receipt. Some inexact statements on the Halle edition of Valdés' Considerations, in my friend's notices, which were dictated from memory and without preparation, will be found rectified by the following extracts from our correspondence.

live on, as it were, from day to day. If you thought proper to send me the facts, dates, editions etc. and Authorities, very briefly stated on a sheet, I would examine and say how far I know them to be true or not, and make my remarks. In this way we should at least understand each other upon the chief points of the subject, and I think you would take a far more general and popular view than I can, although I may be more exact upon some few points." "Your idea," he adds, "of reprinting the Italian of the CX Considerations is one of the highest importance..." Some months later (3 mo. 15. 1859), being anxious, that the reprints of the works of Spanish Reformers should not be mentioned as a series, he wrote to me: "Thou wilt readily conceive that I have great fear of attracting the notice of jesuits and prelates of Spain to them, and that these should think that the works are promoted by some rich English or Scotch propaganda Society as a means of proselyting. This is not the case; they are not promoted by any Society or Association, yet if they thought so, it would move them to opposition against a series, which they might not employ against a single book standing by itself." Although not of my friend's opinion as to the usefulness of making such a mystery, which was so easily penetrated by anyone seeing the series-title in any of the volumes, still of course I complied with his desire. Returning to my intention to print Valdés' Considerations, he adds: "Perhaps I may be allowed also to say, I think it not desirable to seek the help of any association or Society, and that such work is best done by an individual mind acting under strong individual conviction." After I had explained, that I could not think of publishing the work at my expense, he wrote (6 mo. 10): "I should like to know what the printing and good paper, 300 copies, of the *Cento e dieci considerazioni*, in 8°, including a short preface or memoir of Valdés would cost." I sent an estimate, mentioning the necessity of getting a transcript of the printed copy of 1550, and volunteered to correct the proofsheets myself, not to make the undertaking dearer. After several other letters between us, he took up this question, writing (12 mo. 14. 1859): "I think the bookseller should have some share in it, thou shouldst have some share in it, the labour etc., and I think I could get some money to set it forward. But I cannot undertake the burthen of the work and all the expences. Think what plan will be best. And, my esteemed friend, let me candidly say: if it be for fame or pecuniary gain, do not think about the affair, but if for the pure love of Valdés and his principles, then I think the work may prosper." I answered (Decemb. 18): "I think, I have let thee see several times that I did not consider this work as a money business for me. Nor is it for fame, I long to see it executed. I am rather too proud to be ambitious. And if I wished for fame, I knew to find it in better ways than this one which is not much

promising. In my country scarcely half a dozen persons will now read the book, not even all those, to whom I think to present it. And besides I don't see any reason to mention my name in the publication, as I only shall have to make some remarks at the end on the corrections the editor introduced. I do not think of joining a life of J. Valdés to it, as I am afraid the book would get too big. In order, however, not to appear too disinterested, I ask for twelve copies of the edition, which I wish to present to some libraries and persons." Benjamin replied (12 mo. 23): "A summary notice of Valdés is necessary, and I should like it with thy name. I think, thou understood my remarks about fame and gain in too strict a sense, I only meant, that a love of Valdés and his writings should be our motive. I think, thou shouldst have not 12, but 20 copies, and more if wanted, and that a copy should be put into all the great libraries of Germany and Switzerland."

The printed copy of Valdés' Considerations in possession of the Orphan-House at Halle was now copied by a young German (not an Italian). The revision of the Italian text of my edition, the proofs of which I corrected, comparing the printed copy of the first edition, was exclusively my own work. A notice of mine on the twins Valdés was appended. Frederick Seebohm of Hitchin Herts. collected the money for the copyist and the printer; also a considerable outlay for postage and parcels was reimbursed to me. I accepted 19 copies, which I presented to friends of mine. In the names of my English friends and in my own name, copies were presented to persons who had assisted our undertaking by various kindnesses, and about fifty copies to public libraries in different countries. The store for sale was divided between Mount Pleasant, Genoa and Halle; here the bookseller Anton has sold the copies for the furnishers of the printing-fund.

While the printing of the Considerazioni and of my appendix was going on, as soon as a sheet or two was done, it was sent to Wiffen. In July 1861 the work was finished.

Two years later Wiffen wrote to me (7 mo. 24): "I fully appreciate thy disinterested work on the CX Considerations of Valdés: being the same that prompts myself and others who have taken in hand to revive his writings. Indeed, in doing this I hope we are all animated with a portion of his own generous mind. I may acknowledge that I have yet found no book which so truly accords with my mind: I wish it to become more extensively read by people: I do not expect, that preachers and theologians will read it for the love of it, although they may, from curiosity, perhaps."

Our correspondence extended itself from beginning over the other Spanish Reformers as well as Juan and Alfonso Valdés. When I had written him that I had got the passage relating to the brothers Valdés in Enzinas' Historia in

Latin from a manuscript at Altona (see my *Cenni* 519), Wiffen in his next letter (11 mo. 18. 1860) said: "The information is of great interest to me. I wish to know 1. In whose possession? 2. Whether it is a complete copy of all the work? 3. And how I can obtain a copy of it? I have long sought to find it in Latin." Half a year later (6 mo. 9. 1861) he mentioned: "I have obtained from Altona a copy of the Historia of F. de Enzinas, M S., by the favour of Professor Lucht. I owe the knowledge of this M S. at Altona to thee." No doubt Wiffen's copy was sent to Madrid, like other manuscript copies and tracings and books I got for him or ceded to him.

On July 17. 1861 he wrote to me: "The death of thy aged Mother brings back the tender recollections of my own, who died aged about 80 in 1842. I sympathize with thee, for (with all the pains of humanity) what can replace the loss of a Mother, unless it be a wife, which I have not. Old as I was, I felt like a child, left again alone." In beginning of 1864 he felt himself, as he wrote me (3 mo. 9), "under a weight of affliction." "My sister, my only companion, who lived with me, was taken away by death. She was my life-long associate, with short intermission from infancy. I was with her at the minute and she departed — with her hand in mine. Weak, and aged, I confess, that I have, in the frailty of nature, dropped many tears. I know, this is not like a christian believer, who ought to receive his divine Master's messages, not merely with resignation, but with cheerfulness. Other trials have affected me, in my household, and the death of friends. Now I remember the Lord's saying: thou, when thou fastest [or sorrowest] anoint thy head and wash thy face, that thou appear not unto men to fast, and thy Lord, who seeth in secret, shall reward thee openly. I receive his consolation, yet, as to this life, I am alone. Thou doest well to marry and thus to help another and to be helped thyself, in the cares and afflictions of this life." In my answer I almost only wrote out the passage Hebrews 5, 7. 8., underlining several words. On 10 mo. 29th he said: "I have read again thy consolatory lines on the death of my sister and feel them to be very true and appropriate. I am all alone! Last Sabbath, or Sunday, 23 of Oct. completed full ten years of Sundays of my frail existence: that is, it was the 3,650th sunday of my life."

I had no opportunity to make Mr. Wiffen's personal acquaintance. At the end of 1868 Mr. Theodore Harris took me to the Friend's meeting which Mr. Wiffen had used to attend, and we stood at our friend's simple grave.

EDW. BOEHMER.

LIVES OF SPANISH REFORMERS.

JUAN AND ALFONSO DE VALDÉS.

Towards the beginning of the sixteenth century the hereditary Regidor of Cuenca in Castile had twin-sons born to him, who, after careful training, distinguished themselves in Spanish literature, not only as authors who knew how to write their own language with classical purity, but also as religious Reformers.

Alfonso was in the suite of the Emperor Charles at his coronation in Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 1520. He saw, in the burning of Luther's books in the following year at Worms, "not the end, but the beginning of a tragedy." It then appeared to him as impudent upon the part of the monk of Wittenberg, to declare the Pope to be a heretic and schismatic; but he nevertheless found it deplorable that the Pope showed repugnance to the convocation of a General Council, by which alone the peace of Christendom could be secured. This impossibility of bringing the Lutheran affair to an end without such a Council, was incessantly urged at Worms by the Emperor's Grand Chancellor Mercurino da Gattinara.[1]) Under him we meet Alfonso, in the year 1524, as an Imperial Secretary of State.

Alfonso de Valdés was a great admirer of Erasmus, whose writings, in the original and in translations, promoted the reformation

1) Aleander relates from Worms, ult. Febr. 1521: Chièvres, the most influential of the Emperors counsellors, had repeatedly said *che lui non vede questa cosa così difficile a sedare come tutti dicono, e diverso il Cancelliere dice essere impossibile saltem absque concilio et quod fata obstant, e questo è il suo proverbio; el Confessor dice che vede già quasi l'incendio acceso, li Prencipi par che dubitano assai, li prelati temono.* See Johann Friedrich in the Abhandl. d. histor. Classe d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss. Bd. XI, Abth. 3, München 1870, p. 109—110. And about the same time we are told from the same place: *el Cancelliere sempre ci dice che è impossibile metter fin a questa cosa senza Concilio, e che fata obstant, e certi proverbii de constellationi che lui sole plus aequo aver alle mani.* Ib. p. 120. — The Conjunction of Saturnus and Jupiter in 1504 had, according to astrological interpretations then current, given the prospect on great revolutions in church and state. The Grand Chancellor, if not believing himself in astrology, at least could not disdain the respectable power which in that age it held.

also in Spain. At the time when the monks in that country made a violent attack upon the famous scholar, and tried to get a prohibition of his works from the Inquisitors, the generous interposition of Valdés, who employed all his influence in favour of the great humanist, succeeded in preventing such a proscription. From that time we find Alfonso in correspondence with Erasmus. It was no doubt Alfonso Valdés who penned the Imperial answer to Erasmus in December 1527, expressing the joy of the Emperor on learning, by Erasmus' letter, that the insanity of the Lutherans was declining, especially in consequence of the efforts of Erasmus himself, who had published some polemical writings against Luther's *servum arbitrium.*

On the other hand, Alfonso's name is found subscribed to Imperial letters of the years 1526 and 1527, addressed to Pope Clement VII and to the College of the Cardinals, in which a General Council is most energetically demanded.[2]) When Rome was stormed and sacked, in the year 1527, Alfonso wrote a dialogue, in order to vindicate the Emperor, and to prove that terrible catastrophe to have been a retribution upon the sins of the Papal city. In 1529 he accompanied the Emperor in his way through Italy, he attended the Pope's and Emperor's congress at Bologna, and he went on with the court to the diet in Germany. Soon after the arrival at Augsburg, he sent for Melanchthon, in order, if possible, to bring about an understanding with that champion of the Evangelicals. The intercourse of these two mild and moderate men was a very friendly one, and with the Sovereign, Valdés successfully set off the conciliatory and reasonable tone of the Protestants, and smoothed the way to a public reading of their Confession in the presence of the Emperor and the powers of the realm. For two years more did he follow Charles through Germany as his Secretary. It was with pleasure, that he saw the Emperor constrained, to yield, at the diet of Ratisbon a greater liberty to the evangelical movement.

In the autumn of 1532 Alfonso de Valdés died at Vienna. Thomas Cranmer in a despatch to King Henry VIII, dated from Villach, October 20. 1532, tells of *a great infection of the plague,*

2) There is an old French translation of this letter to the Cardinals, countersigned *Alphonsus Valdesius,* in the British Museum, Harleian MS. 6206.

whereof is dead many of the Emperor's household, and among other is dead Waldesius, a Spaniard, the Emperor's Chief Secretary, and was in his singular favour. He was well learned in the Latin tongue, and partly in the Greek; and whensoever the Emperor would have any thing well and exactly done in the Latin tongue, it was ever put to Waldesius.[3])

His brother Juan sought and found more leisure for literary production. He had spent years absorbed in court-life and an insatiable perusal of chivalrous romances, but under impression of the great historic events then acting on the world's theatre, whose hidden springs his brother could out of his own experience explain, he found himself attracted by realities affecting God's glory and man's welfare.

Shortly after Alfonso had put his dialogue on the sack of Rome into circulation, Juan composed another, called Mercury and Charon. It's tendency is both political and religious. The author justifies the Emperor with respect to the challenge, which he had given to the King of France, to fight him in duel, and he depicts the then actually ruinous condition of the Christian church. He eloquently accomplishes his design, proving both his statements by arguments evolved in conversations which the ferryman of the lower world holds with different personages.[4])

3) He adds: *and I suppose that he made the draught of the answer of the emperor, which I sent unto your grace inclosed with my last letters.* Those last letters were dated October 2; they are not printed with those of Oct. 20, which are found in the *Records of the Reformation,* collected by Nicholas Pocock, Oxford 1870, vol. 2, the quoted passage p. 318—9. Augustine writes to Cromwell from Bologna, October 14. 1532, ib. p. 337: *Inter caeteras causas festinationis Caesaris ex Vienna in Italiam pestis fuit in causa, qua cum multi obscuri nominis interissent, postremo secretarius Valdesius [amisi]t animam.* The Emperor had arrived at Vienna on September 23, ib. p. 332, he left it on October 4; compare Stälin *Aufenthaltsorte K. Karls V,* in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte,* Bd. 5, Göttingen 1865.

4) The remark of Charon with respect to Alastor, in the beginning of the dialogue, hints to Erasmus dialogue between these two persons.

Stern in his dissertation on Alfonso and Juan de Valdés. says p. 37: *Le dialogue se compose de deux parties distinctes, dont la première forme un tout complet, et dont la seconde n'est qu'une suite ajoutée quelque temps après,* and in a note: *Quand l'auteur écrivait son introduction, la deuxième partie n'était pas composée; la fin de la première, comme le commencement de la deuxième, montrent clairement que la deuxième n'est qu'une suite postérieurement ajoutée.* That the second book

Compromised with the Holy Office by this work, Juan did not feel himself safe in Spain, and about the year 1530 he left it for Naples, where the Spanish Inquisition had not yet been established. In 1531 he went to Rome, where he stayed two years; then he returned to Naples, and probably never again left the neighbourhood of this town.[5])

At Naples he wrote, in 1533, his *Dialogue on the language,* viz. the Spanish language, a work which is acknowledged to be of high authority in relation to that idiom. It was with difficulty, that some friends prevailed upon him, to devote his time to give these

is a continuation of the first, and that it was added to this one, is undoubted, but the division into two books is merely a literary one, and the author, after having written the concluding words of the first, may have immediately begun the second. I cannot concur in the opinion that the introduction had been written before the second book existed, for it is difficult to believe that the author, who confesses in the introduction, that finally he had begun to weary with this form of expressing his thoughts, should have resolved to continue it in another book.

5) As for the notice, that Juan Valdés was Governor of the Hospital of Incurables at Naples (see p. 336 of my appendix to the German translation of the Considerations), compare the statement of Carnesecchi (Processo, p. 381 f.), that in the lifetime of Valdés he knew at Naples a Spaniard, called Sigismundo, who had taken on himself the whole burden of the government of that hospital, without receiving for his services anything besides food and clothing.

Alfonso Valdés is said, by an author writing in the year 1647, to have been keeper of the archives at Naples. But Alfonso never saw Naples, unless he did so in his youth; and it is most probable, that Juan never held any public office (compare my appendix to the German Considerations p. 356). I owe the following extract to Vittorio Imbriani. *Catalogo | di Mss della Biblioteca | di | Camillo Minieri Riccio | Volume terzo | Napoli | presso Detken e Rocholl | 1869.* Pag. 69, n° 24. *Miscellaneo. fr. 80. In fol. leg. in perg. di pag. 235 di diversi caratteri per quanti sono i differenti Mss. che contiene; essi sono: 1. Ragionamento intorno alla introdutione degli Archivij per la conservatione delle scritture di Cautele pubbliche, ordinata colla pragmatica anticha in questa Città e Regno di Napoli dal Re Ferdinando d'Aragona che comincia Constitutionem divi Federici sub rubrica de Instrumentis infra octo dies a die rogationis scribendis che va con le pragmatiche unite alle Constitutioni, di pag. 34 scritte di mano dell'autore il notaio Bartolommeo San Giovanni nell'anno 1647 autografo. Tra le altre cose dicesi che quando la città di Napoli supplicò l'imperadore Carlo V per fondare l'archivio nel Tribunale di S. Lorenzo e gli altri nella Città e nelle provincie del Reame, dopo non lievi difficoltà vinte l'imperadore alla fine mandò il suo segretario Alfonso de Valdes per esercitar l'ufficio d'Archivario in questa Città e Regno per dare esecutione a detti Archivij, al quale la Città di Napoli fe' un donativo, perchè avene necessitato e non si fosse disturbata la speranza d'essa Città di poter fundare detto Archivio in S. Lorenzo.*

specimens of his literary studies and principles, for already all his efforts were directed to the composition of works of a devotional and biblical character. Without depreciating the various branches of what is called profane knowledge, and especially the *humaniora,* still he had learned in the school of saint Paul, to rank the gospel far above all worldly wisdom, upon subjects affecting salvation.

Towards the end of his life he was surrounded by the choicest spirits of Italy, comprising such men as Marcantonio Flaminio and Carnesecchi, Occhino and Peter Martyr Vermiglio. He had also, at that time, for his pupils and friends a circle of accomplished women, before all Giulia Gonzaga, a beauty praised by Ariosto,[6]) and whose fame had spread so far, that an African corsair, in 1535, had disembarked in the *Terra di Lavoro,* in order to kidnap her as a present for the Sultan, a fate from which she narrowly escaped.

During the Emperor's residence at Naples, in 1536, at one and the same time Occhino preached there the Lent sermons with such wondrous power, that people said, the stones must cry out, Peter Martyr convened assemblies to which he expounded the Scriptures admirably, and Juan de Valdés inspired all, amongst whom he moved, with evangelical spirit. It was then, that Giulia Gonzaga, having been stirred to learn how to live in newness of life, asked of Valdés the way. His *Christian Alphabet* is a dialogue sustained by him and Giulia, and nothing is more fit to bring vividly before us the religious movement then going on around Valdés, and which, to the greatest extent, originated in himself. Giulia soon withdrew into a nunnery at Naples, where, without taking the vows, she found a quiet abode, and escaped being engulfed in the restless world, the peril to a lady of her rank and endowments which in those days and that place was scarcely otherwise to be avoided. The *Alphabet,* which Valdés gave her as a primer, composed with relation to her special personal requirements,[7]) was soon followed by his explanations of Scripture.

6) Cf. also *Processo Carnesecchi* p. 84.

7) As the *Alfabeto* is but an elementary work, and limited in its design for the use of a single person, it is not without precaution available for the purpose of ascertaining the character of the author's teaching and doctrine, which is more fully exemplified in his other works.

To Giulia he dedicated the Psalms translated by him from Hebrew into Spanish, with a Spanish commentary.[8]) This work has been lost; his commentaries on the Romans and the first epistle to the Corinthians, dedicated to the same lady, are printed, works of conscientious research, penetrative and yet without pretence. It appears, that he contemplated, had he been spared, to complete a commentary upon the whole of the New Testament: we find him incidentally express such a purpose at least with relation to the second epistle to the Corinthians, to the first epistle to Timothy, and to the gospels, and according to Carnesecchi he has written on all Paul's epistles, not including, however, that to the Hebrews.[9])

He, doubtless, annexed his exposition to his own translation from the Greek throughout all the books, as he did in the two surviving ones on the Romans and on the first epistle to the Corinthians. And certainly to Juan de Valdés the honour is due of having been, so far as we know, the first person to undertake a translation of the Bible from the original languages into Spanish.[10])

It is reported of Valdés, that, in a letter which he wrote treating of interpreters of holy Scripture and giving advice as to their employment, he attached but little weight to the interpretations by the Fathers. Another letter treats of justification. Incidental mention is found, in Valdés' printed works, of other doctrinal epistles written by him. From the collection of *Questions and Answers*, viz. answers of Valdés, which after his death were preparing for the press, but one specimen is extant, printed at the end of the *Alfabeto.*[11])

8) Carnesecchi thinks, that Flaminio was, in Viterbo, soon after Valdés' death, occupied in translating this commentary into Italian. Processo p. 351.

9) *Processo* p. 352. The *espositione sopra san Paulo* was sent by Giulia to Viterbo, where Flaminio, Carnesecchi, Cardinal Pole and Vittoria Colonna had got it in December 1541. Ib. p. 354.

10) It excites surprise to read in Enzinas' dedication to the Emperor, prefixed to his Spanish New Testament, dated October 1, 1543: *En Italia ay muchas versiones* [de la sagrada Escritura], *y muy varias, y las mas han salido de Napoles Patrimonio de V. M.* Here, without doubt, Enzinas alludes to Italian versions. In 1497 a Jewish translation of the Pentateuch into Spanish appeared at Venice.

11) As an abridged title-copy of a very rare book, of which I here give a fuller one, could lead to the idea that it was the Valdesian collection, I state that there is nothing of Valdés in it. *Las quatrocientas Respuestas a otras tantas preguntas, que el yllustrissimo señor don Fadrique enrriquez: Almirante de Castilla y*

A sheet, entitled *In what manner Christian children are to be taught the Christian religion,* was probably written for the instruction of the children born upon Giulia Gonzaga's domains. We know this only in a Latin-translation, entitled *Lac spirituale.*[12]) Whilst the Italian of this tract of Valdés would seem to have been intended to be placed also in the hands of children, there was another tract of his intended for teachers, giving them hints as to the *Mode in which one should treat and preach the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion.* This latter was printed in Italian in Rome itself in the year of the opening of the Council of Trent, and there were appended to this edition four other tracts by the same author, three upon justification by faith (among them the above mentioned letter), and one upon the Christian's certainty of justification and of glorification.[13]) In the first of these five tracts he develops the following ideas. If he had to give regulations for preaching of the gospel of Christ, he

otras personas en diuersas vezes embiaron a preguntar al auctor, que no quiso ser nombrado, mas de quanto era frayle menor, con quinientos prouerbios de consejos y auisos, por manera de letania . . . . Anno . M. D. XLV. According to the colophon the printing was finished in that year at Valladolid. [Frankfurt o. M., city libr.]

12) In the letter to Koldewey p. 27 I have said: I could not but repeat the conjecture proposed in my article on Valdés in Herzog's Cyclopedia vol. 17, p. 20, that the *Lac* was nothing else than the pamphlet *In qual maniera.* In the place quoted, however, taking text and note together, one reads, that the *Lac* was perhaps translated from the pamphlet *Modo che si dee tenere.* The inconsistency of the quotation was caused by the circumstance, that I had, in my own copy of my article, changed the place of the sign corresponding to that note, as soon as I saw it printed, for I, in fact, thought it more likely that the *Lac spirituale pro alendis et educandis Christianorum pueris* was the tract on the manner to be adopted *in formare i figliuoli de' Cristiani.* It was an inadvertency of mine, not to think of this change, when writing to Koldewey. — Dr. W. Moeller, in the periodical *Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* 1871, p. 726, says that my proofs for Juan Valdés authorship of the *Lac* (as Vergerio called it) are convincing.

13) Dr. Moeller ib., reviewing my edition of the *Modo che si dee tenere,* says p. 724, that the author of the Considerations is to be recognized in it in almost every sentence. — The *quinternetto* (= 10 leaves = 20 pages) which Carneseechi, on April 30. 1544, sent from Venice to Bologna, and which he, in 1567, thought was *qualche operetta del Valdesio,* Processo p. 394 f., may have been this *Modo che si dee tenere.* As Carnesecchi wished to have it sent back to him, after it had been copied by the friends at Bologna, it probably was not printed, but in manuscript. In this case the first edition of the *Modo* would seem to have been made at a later time in the same year, or in the next year, before the Roman edition.

would prescribe, that penitence should be preached first, secondly justification by faith, and connected with this article thirdly the necessity of testifying to Christian faith by Christian works, which works, he says, will be rewarded in the present life by corporal and spiritual benefits and in this life by greater glory. Moreover he suggests, that after three warnings, the avaricious, the ambitious, the blasphemous, the gluttonous, the luxurious, the quarrelsome, and those who sought dishonest gain and who delighted in illicit plays, and at the same time those who were given to vain ceremonies and superstitious customs, attributing to creatures and to times and words more than was becoming and than holy scripture and Christian faith attributed them, should be excommunicated. Then should we, he says, in our own age see a Christian church, very similar to that of the Apostolic age. Those, however, he adds, who were not in this church, must not think themselves aliens to it, as long as they like to look at the Christian life; they themselves will by prayer and labour get into it.

We have no grounds for believing that Juan de Valdés wrote any one of his works in any other language than in his mother-tongue. He had, as he himself[14]) says, well *considered* the Tuscan language (the Italian), but he did not hold himself sufficiently versed in it to qualify him to judge of the merits of Bembo's book on the *lingua volgare* (of Italy).[15]) The five Italian tracts printed in Rome are therefore no doubt translations, of the *Alfabeto* we know the translator (who notices, that the words of the author are retained as much as possible);[16]) and it is likewise declared by authorities, that his Considerations were written in Spanish.[17])

14) *Diálogo de la lengua.* 1860. P. 194.

15) Ib. p. 7.

16) The translator of the *Alfabeto* was Marcantonio Magno. In Coelestin's reprint of certain disticha of Magno (which I copied from Coelestin for the memorials on the brothers Valdés which I appended to the German translation of the Considerations, p. 360) there is a typographical error in the fifth verse which begins *Nunc licet,* not *Non licet.* I correct this from the original print, now in the Ponickau library: *Vincentii Pimpinelli Archiepi Rossan. Oratio Augustae habita XIj. Kal. Julij. MDXXX.* Colophon: *Excusum Augustae Vind... XV. Julij. M. D. XXX.*

17) Curione in his letter prefixed to Valdés *Considerazioni* (ed. 1860, p. 432): *Queste considerazioni, come sanno molti, furono prima dall' autore scritte in lingua*

The Spanish original of Juan de Valdés Hundred and ten divine considerations is lost, but there have been published twelve editions of translations. From Italian they have been translated into five other languages. Three editions appeared in English. To the editor of the first English translation, who scrupulously hesitated to publish it, on account of certain passages in the book, George Herbert wrote in 1638: "I wish you by all means to publish it, for these three eminent things observable therein: First, that God in the midst of Popery should open the eyes of one to understand and express so clearly and excellently the intent of the gospel in the acceptation of Christ's righteousness (as he sheweth through all his Considerations), a thing strangely buried and darkened by the adversaries, and their great stumbling block. Secondly the great honour and reverence which he everywhere bears towards our dear master and lord, concluding every Consideration almost with his holy name, and setting his merit forth so piously, for which I do so love him, that, were there nothing else, I would print it, that with it the honour of my lord might be published. Thirdly, the many pious rules of ordering our life, about mortification and observation of God's kingdom within us and the working thereof, of which he was a very diligent observer. These three things are very eminent in the author, and overweigh the defects (as I conceive), towards the publishing thereof." [18])

To Juan Valdés' simple evangelical teaching is to be traced back the book *On the benefit of Christ.* The first author of it was a monk of the black Benedictine's, called Don Benedetto, from Mantua, who wrote it in a monastery of his order near mount Etna; then he asked his friend Marcantonio Flaminio to polish it, in order to render it more attractive, and so Flaminio, while leaving the subject unal-

Spagnuola, ma poi da una certa persona pia e degna in lingua Italiana tradotte. Carnesecchi says (Processo p. 351): *so bene che il Flaminio aveva seco* [in Viterbo, in 1541 and 42] *una parte delli scritti di Valdés, e credo che fussero il libro delle considerazioni, e il commento sopra li psalmi, e che andava traducendoli di Spagnolo in Italiano, per complacere alla sudetta signora* [Giulia Gonzaga] *che n'aveva ricerco.*

18) In the Oxford edition of Valdés' Considerations. — Compare Dr. Moeller's warm appreciation of the Considerations on p. 723 of his article quoted above note 10 and 11.

tered, remodelled the excellent tract according to his taste.[19]) It was believed to have been extirpated by the Inquisition, when it reappeared in 1855, reprinted from a copy preserved at Cambridge, and it readily won the admiring love of all who love the gospel.

Many interesting statements on Valdés and the Valdesian movement are given by Carnesecchi, in his depositions before the tribunal of the Inquisition at Rome.[20]) "Although I had known Juan Valdés at Rome in the time of Pope Clement,"[21]) Carnesecchi reports, "I can not say that I knew him as a theologian before the year 1540 in Naples. For in Rome I did not know, that he applied himself to the study of sacred litterature, but I knew him only as a modest and well-bred courtier, and as such I liked him very much, so that the intercourse and familiarity I afterwards had with him at Naples, was a continuation of our friendship made at Rome; at Naples, however, the friendship grew a spiritual one, for I found him entirely given to the spirit, and wholly intent on the study of holy Scripture. This, however, would not have been sufficient with me, to give him so much credit as I did, he being a *gentiluomo di spada e cappa,* who had at once, for me, become a theologian, if I had not observed, what a high place he occupied in the eyes of Fra Bernardino Occhino, who then was preaching, to the admiration of every body at Naples, and who professed to receive, as it were, the themes of many of his sermons from Valdés, from whom he used to get a note on the evening, preceding the morning on which he was to mount the pulpit;[22]) and if

19) Carnesecchi, Processo p. 58 f. See my *Cenni* of 1861, p. 552. In substance Laderchi is right, in attributing the book to Valdés, Annal. eccles. t. 22, Colon. Agr. 1733, p. 199, in relating the final sentence on Carnesecchi (the tenor, however, of this sentence, published by Gibbings, and repeated by Manzoni, at the end of the Processo, does not name Valdés as author of the *Beneficio di Cristo).*

20) *Estratto del processo di Pietro Carnesecchi edito da Giacomo Manzoni. Torino stamperia reale MDCCCLXX. Estr. dal Tomo X. della Miscellanea di Storia Italiana.* Octavo. Pages numbered from 49 to 429, with four pages previous *Avvertimento.*

21) *insino al tempo di Papa Clemente,* which more accurately would be translated by: *up to the time of P. C.* Cf. also similar expressions in Tommaseo's Italian dictionary s. v. *fino,* n^{os} 10, last alinea, and 39.

22) I have not now at my disposal the sermons of Occhino, so as to search for the traces of the influence of Valdés. I noticed long ago, that the concluding

Fra Bernardino's opinion had not harmonised with also Flaminio, whom I thought such a prudent and learned man, that he would not have been imposed upon, and so sincere and worthy, that he would not have wished to delude others, especially such a great friend of his as I was, and in a matter of such importance as is religion." [23]) It was by Valdés, that Flaminio had been lead to the conviction of justification by faith.[24]) Carnesecchi was introduced also, by Valdés himself, to Peter Martyr Vermiglio who was a great friend of the Spaniard.[25]) At Naples, Carnesecchi lived in the house of Giulia Gonzaga.[26]) In a letter to her, written almost twenty years afterwards, in 1559, he acknowledges, that he owed to her mediation the beneficent influence on him of Valdés' holy teaching and of the intercourse with this man, whom he knew before Donna Giulia, but not in such a manner as to have that fruit from it.[27]) Her he expressly thanked, as well that he had been delivered from superstitious and false religion, and had placed the hope of his salvation not in works but in faith, as also, that he was kept within due limits and not engulfed by Lutheranism.[28]) He believed that those, who differed from the modern Roman church in the article of justification, whilst keeping what he was persuaded to be the true catholic and apostolical faith, would be saved.[29]) But, although he accepted that fundamental article of the German religious reform, he disapproved of Luther's separation from the body of the Catholic church. That separation he especially saw in the disobedience of the head of the Protestants, manifested by refusing to appear at the Council, and to submit to its determination, and also by the contumacy against the Apostolic see. This was likewise Flaminio's view.[30]) Nor was Carnesecchi, when accepting the main doctrine of Luther and Valdés, aware of those consequences which, as he was afterwards told, could be derived from it, viz. "that we do not want the sacrament of penitence, nor contrition, nor satisfaction in

formula of Valdés' Considerations: *Jesus Christ our Lord,* recurs at the end of so many sermons of Occhino. The same conclusion is found in Peter Martyr Vermiglio's *Preces ex psalmis,* whereever one opens the book.

23) Processo p. 51 f. 24) Ib. p. 361. 25) Ib. p. 374. 26) Ib. p. 346. 27) Ib. p. 166. 184 f. 28) Ib. p. 186 f. 29) Ib. p. 198, cf. 230. 30) Ib. p. 182.

order to regain grace lost by mortal sin, nor purgatory."[31]) Valdés and Flaminio explained to him: justification by faith was taught, not only by holy Scripture, but also by all the chief doctors of the church, Augustine, Chrysostom, Bernard, Origen, Hilary, Prosper and others. Those doctors, it was true, in their sermons for the people, extolled works as very necessary to our salvation, but they did so, lest people might give themselves over to licentiousness, which has been the case, Carnesecchi says before his judges, in Germany and other countries where justification by faith alone has been freely preached. His friends at Naples asserted, that all true Christians believed this article, and if not explicitly, yet implicitly, and if not earlier, it was revealed to them at death. When to such subtleties Carnesecchi replied: he found it strange, though, that there were so few persons who held that faith; they reminded him of the seventhousand who had not bent their knees to Baal, and moreover they said, that section of the preachers in the present time, who did not talk of that article, was silenced only by the same reserve, from which S. Augustine did not preach on predestination, in order not to scandalize the weak ones.[32]) Valdés taught justification by faith, without touching, even without hinting at, those consequences; be it, says Carnesecchi, that he did not accept them, or be it, that he dissimulated them in order not to scandalise his disciples.[33]) Carnesecchi was also of opinion, that he who felt himself justified by faith, could count himself among the elected, and might consequently be sure, or at least greatly confident, that he would be saved, if living that life which is becoming a true member of Christ, and if showing his faith, whensoever he had an opportunity to do it, by his good works and good habits, though doing this rather from gratitude for the received benefit, and in order to glorify God, than in order to acquire eternal life, this being acquired by the merits of Christ, imputed to the believer. He did not, however, deny, that grace and justification were, by means of such works, augmented in this life, and higher degrees of glory acquired in the life to come, nor that he, who is justified, must strive to become just in himself, as he is just in Christ,

31) Ib. p. 52 f., cf. 192 f. 389. 32) Ib. p. 189 f. 33) Ib. p. 389.

acquiring the habit of this righteousness *formally*, viz. procuring to have inherent righteousness through love poured in our hearts by the Holy Spirit, and not contenting himself with that righteousness which is imputed to him, and of which he partakes by faith.[34])

Juan de Valdés died in the summer of 1541.[35]) His decease was placid.[36]) He was, in his last illness, visited also by the archbishop of Otranto, his dear friend, who used to commend his writings and discourses in matters of religion.[37]) When, in 1543, the archbishop, then a member of the Council of Trent, and his friend Carnesecchi,

34) Ib. p. 390. Compare especially Valdés tract *In qual maniera.*

35) According to Carnesecchi's statement, Valdés died a few months (*pochi mesi*) after Carnesecchi's and Flaminio's departure for Rome where they arrived in May 1541 (*Processo* p. 67 f., cf. 114). Their journey from Naples to Rome, if it was not a quick one, at least seems to have been performed uninterruptedly (ib. p. 67), nor did they remain in Rome, but arrived in the same month of May at Florence where they stayed till October (ib. p. 361, cf. 366. 51). It was therefore at Florence, that Carnesecchi received Bonfadio's letter speaking of Valdés death, which letter I have shown to have most likely been written in August 1541 (Appendix to the German Considerations p. 356). I have verified (since that Appendix was published) that the same letter is found already in the edition of the year 1542 of the *lettere di diversi*, mentioned as the first edition of that collection in Renouard's *Annales de l'imprimerie des Alde*, t. 1, Paris 1825, p. 296. I used the copy of the city-library of Frankfurt o. M. *Lettere volgari di diversi nobilissimi hvomini et eccellentissimi ingegni scritte in diverse materie. Libro primo. Vinegia, M. D. XLII.* Colophon: *In Vinegia, nell' anno M. D. XXXXII. Del mese d'Ottobrio. In casa de' figlivoli di Aldo.* The passage relating to Valdés is read on fol. 33. The only notable difference from the reprints is, that, iustead of *torre*, is read *terra.*

This Juan de Valdés, the brother of Charles V Secretary of State, is, by Jo. Fecht [as, before him, by others, cf. my Cenni 553], taken for a suicide of the time of pope Julius II., *hist. eccl. supplem.* 1684. p. 179 of the *apparatus.*

. . . Caspar Ursinus Velius . . . 5. Maji 1538 subito amissus est. Quidam in Danubium injectum existimarunt . . . Nec diversum expertus est fatum Joannes Valdesius, matione Hispanus, qui Romae literis et industria et magnorum principum gratia ad magnas divitias evectus, multis quoque officiis ecclesiasticis clarus habebatur. Cum deperiisset virginem, viri senatorii filiam, eius gratia permissu pontificis abdicato sacerdotio, ita animo ob interclusos ista ratione opulentos reditus affligebatur, ut ex editissimo loco in viam mediam se praecipitem daret ossibusque collisis statim exanimaretur. Rem fuse narrat Jo. Pier. Valerianus libro de literatorum infelicitate [Cf. my *Cenni* p. 509]. *Est et Alphonsus Valdesius, Johannis germanus, theologiae professor et concionator Burgis, Caroli Caesaris secretarius* [Cf. Cenni 518]. *Ad utrumque Erasmi extant epistolae. Sed Alphonsus eius esse auctor videtur, quo hoc loco comparet* [epist. p. 845—6. *Burgis 9 cal. Dec. 1527*].

36) *felice passaggio. Processo* p. 114.

37) Ib. p. 377.

saw each other for the first time after Valdés death, and could pass an evening together, at Venice, they, as it were, vied in expressing their admiration and praise of that blessed divine.[38])

When Cardinal Pole had declared on his deathbed, in 1558, that he had always held the Pope, and particularly the present one, to be the true successor of Saint Peter and the Vicar of Christ, and that he never had dissented from the papal will nor from the belief of the Roman church, such a declaration, given in the reign of Paul IV, was by Carnesecchi deemed superfluous, not to say scandalous. He and Giulia recollected that Juan Valdés had, neither in his testament nor in the discourses short before his death, made any mention of the authority of the Pope nor of the succession in the apostolate of Peter, but had simply testified, that he died with the same faith with which he had lived. Carnesecchi and Giulia did not question the Pope's succession in Peter's apostleship, but they believed the successor had got a more limited authority over the church than generally was attributed to him, for they interpreted the Roman primacy as indicative of distinction rather than of sway.[39]) Conscious, therefore, of their own dissent from the contemporary Romanism in the article of justification, and convinced that Pole had been of their sentiment, they could not but regret his last declaration, which they must have considered as apostasy or duplicity, at all events as a symptom of weakness, upon the part of a man, whose death, at the first news of it, had been deplored by them as a loss to their circle of more nearly related fellow worshippers.[40]) Vittoria Colonna was once advised by Pole, in whom she confided as in an oracle, to believe as if by faith alone she could be saved, and to work as if her salvation consisted in her works. Although she did not then succeed to get out of him any more definite opinion on justification,[41]) still she gave to understand, that she knew him to differ from the views of the Council, when, just at the time when it decreed that article, he had withdrawn from Trent to a more salubrious place, on

38) Ib. p. 404. Cf. *Cenni* p. 570 f. 39) *Processo* p. 150 f. 132 f.
40) Cf. ib. p. 120. 122. 41) Ib. p. 125 f.
42) Ib. p. 405 f. Cf. 353 f. She also regretted, that he had been prevented from publishing an invective against Pope Paul IV, p. 128 f.

account of a catarrh.[42]) In fact, he acknowledged to Flaminio, that the term *merits* could not properly be used of any other person than Christ.[43]) From Viterbo, where she was staying with Pole, Carnesecchi and Flaminio, in December 1541, Vittoria expressed thanks to Giulia for having sent there Valdés' commentary on S. Paul, so much desired by those friends, and most by herself, who needed it most; and inviting her to come herself, "certainly," she writes, "it would be convenient, that, after being so well informed on the true celestial fatherland, you revisited a little your country Lombardy, for you could also help much."[44]) Caterina Cibo, Duchess of Camerino, likewise believed in justification by faith, conforming to Valdés doctrine, and had evangelists recommended to her by Carnesecchi.[45]) Also the Cardinals Contareno and Badia approved the writings of Juan de Valdés.[46])

Soon, after the death of Valdés, Vermiglio and Occhino left Italy, where liberty of preaching was no longer left them. For a short period the press at Venice was still suffered to spread evangelical literature. The *Benefit of Christ* was printed there and circulated in tens of thousands of copies. About the year of the opening of the Council of Trent several works of Juan de Valdés were published at Venice. Together with his brother's dialogue on the sack of Rome, there appeared Juan's *dialogue between Mercury and Charon*, his *Christian Alphabet*, and seven of his tracts on the fundamental doctrines of spiritual Christendom.[47]) In 1548 such a licentiousness of the press was stopped. Valdés' *Considerations* were printed at Basle, where they appeared in 1550 in Italian. The Commentaries on the Romans and on the first epistle to the Corinthians were edited in 1556 and 57 at Geneva. One of the

43) Ib. p. 406. 44) Ib. p. 353 f. Cf. 351.

45) Ib. p. 57. 58. 374. It seems therefore, I was wrong in following Laderchio in my *Cenni* p. 577

46) Processo p. 391. Compare Lic. Dr. Theodor Brieger: *Die Rechtfertigungslehre des Cardinal Contarini,* in the Periodical *Theologische Studien und Kritiken,* 1872, p. 87 f.

47) Thomas Knight writes to Henry Bullinger Jan. 23. 1547 from Venice: "The gospel is daily preached here with greater purity than in any other places in Italy . . . The number of the faithful is daily increasing more and more. Your commentaries are daily becoming more esteemed by the Italians." P. 357—8 of Original letters relative to the English reformation, edited for the Parker Society, first portion, Cambridge 1846.

tracts was twice published, in 1554 and 56, in Germany in a Latin translation, of which a German and a Polish translation were made and very soon printed. In the Neapolitan realm persecution grew heavy; some withdrew beyond the Alps,[48]) many recanted, many suffered capital punishment. Giulia Gonzaga, who strictly kept to the faith imbibed by the guidance of Valdés and to the practice recommended her by him,[49]) was summoned to Rome, but death released her from more painful and fearful experience, at her retreat in the Neapolitan convent, in the year 1566. Probably the Roman Inquisition seized, after her death, the letters which Carnesecchi had written to her. He was imprisoned. In vain he urged, that the doctrine of Valdés on justification could not be considered to have been heretical, as long as the Council had not determined otherwise; that high authorities and dignitaries had adhered to it; that he himself, after always fluctuating in his mind, had at last

48) Of Balbani's Italian biography of one of the Neapolitan Protestant fugitives I succeeded at last to see a copy in the Berlin royal library. *Historia | della vita di | Galeazzo Carac- | ciolo, chiamato il | Signor Mar- | cheze, | nella qvale | si contiene vn raro e singolare | essempio di costanza, e di per- | seueranza nella pieta, e nella | vera religione* | [Ornament] | *Stampata in Geneua. | M. D. LXXXVII.* Small Octavo. 114 pages, including title. Under the preface directed *A pii lettori*, which is dated Geneva 1. Apr. 1587, Nicolao Balbani names himself. (For a special reason, I somewhat modernized, while copying, the orthography of the following extracts) P. 15. *Era in que' tempi in Napoli un gentiluomo Spagnuolo, nominato Giovanni Valdesio, il quale avendo qualche conoscenza e sentimento della verità dell' evangelio, e specialmente della dottrina della giustificazione, aveva cominciato a ritirare alcuni gentiluomini dali' ignoranza e dalle false openioni della propria giustizia e de' meriti delle opere, e conseguentemente da molte superstizioni. Fra questi vi era un gentiluomo, congiunto alquanto di parentado con Galeazzo, nomato Gio. Francesco Caserta.* R. 39. *Successe a questo un altro combattimento ed una molto più di tutte pericolosa tentazione. Erano i discepoli del Valdesio, nominato di sopra, in gran numero in quella città di Napoli, co' quali Galeazzo conversava, come congiunto con loro in una medesima dottrina e vocazione. Questi non erano proceduti più innanzi nella conoscenza della verità che all' articolo della giustificazione per Gesù Cristo ed a ritirarsi da qualche abuso o superstizione del papato. Non lasciavano intanto di frequentare i tempj e di ritrovarsi con gli altri alle messe ed alle ordinarie idolatrie. Con questi per un tempo egli era d'accordo, cammino veramente, che lo conduceva alla perdizione ed a quella rovina, nella quale sono caduti quasi tutti gli altri, li quali sono stati perseguitati, tormentati nelle prigioni, fatti abbiurare, e per la fine come relassi fatti malamente morire; fra quali fu quel Caserta da cui egli ebbe i primi principj e fondamenti della vera religione.*

49) Carnesecchi's *Processo* p. 84. 170—172. 192. 194. 385.

acquiesced in what the Council had ultimately decreed and the Pope had approved.[50]) He ingenuously confessed, it is true, as for the relation of inherent justice to that which is imputed, that he, not knowing exactly to discern the difference between the opinion of Valdés and the determination of the Council, was not yet quite resolved, whether he ought to condemn Valdés' doctrine on this point or not; but he declared he would submit to his judges, his intention being, entirely to conform himself in this as well as in all other articles to the orthodox catholic faith.[51]) On some captious question he also reminded them of his not being a theologian.[52]) He was beheaded and burnt, in 1567. Soon every spark of evangelical life was choked within the reach of the Inquisition.[53])

50) Ib. p. 95. 117. 189. 190. 196. 321. 389—91. Cf. 352.

51) Ib. p. 390 f. On that doctrinal particular cf. Brieger de form. concord. Ratisb., and the article by the same on John Gropper in the *Allg. Encykl. d. W. u. K. Erste Section XCII.* 1872.

52) *Processo* p. 195.

53) I should not like to suppress here the following judgment. [Adrien Baillet] *Jugemens des Scavans* t. 1. Paris 1685. p. 270: *puisque l'Espagne a bien été capable de mettre au monde des Deistes tout autrement pernicieux que ne peuvent être les Heretiques, elle n'auroit point mal fait de se mettre en devoir de leur opposer de fidelles & de vaillans soldats capables de défendre la Religion Chrêtienne, contre des ennemis de la Trinité & de l'Incarnation aussi détestables qu'étoient Jean Valdez, Michel Servet, & Benoist d'Espinose que nous appelons Spinosa.* (In the edit. of Amsterdam t. 1. 1725. p. 90). In 1684 *Sandii Biblth. Anti-trinitariorum* had appeared, where the names of Valdés and Servetus occur on the very first leaves. As for the so called antitrinitarianism of Valdés see my remarks at the end of the German translation of the CX Considerations p. 367 f.

For fuller information see Wiffen's Life of Juan Valdés 1865, and Boehmer's appendix to the German translation of Juan's Considerations 1870. Also Eugène Stern: *Alfonso et Juan de Valdès. Thèse présentée à la Faculté de théologie protestante de Strasbourg et soutenue publiquement le 27 novembre 1869 pour obtenir le grade de bachelier en théologie.* Maurenbrecher reviewed this dissertation, in v. Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift* 12ter Jahrgang, 1870, Heft 3, p. 159. 160. On account of the new accession of materials this my English sketch is not merely a reproduction of what I have already said in my Italian and German articles.

1524	Oct.	30	Tordesillas	Investiture of Sforza. *1726. 1732.*
1525				Report on the battle of Pavia. *1525.*
1526	Sept.	17	Granada	to the Pope. *1526 and often.*
—	—	18	—	
—	Oct.	6	—	to the Cardinals. *1526 and often.*
1527	March	2	Valladolid	Printing privilege for John Schoeffer at Mainz.
—	July	28	Valladolid.	To Cardinal Salviati. *1870.*
—	Aug.	2		To the king of England. *1529 and in all editio translations of the dialogue Mercur 1613. 1739.*
—	Dec.	13	Burgos.	To Erasmus. *1703. Spanish 1532. 1863 bis. 1865.*
1528	Nov.	30	Toledo.	On the duel with the French King. *1853. 18*
1529	June	29	Barcelona.	Treatise between Emperor and Pope. *1726. 17*
—	Sept.	13	Piacenza.	Nomination of Gonzaga as Captain.
—	—	21	—	Nomination of the same as Chief Commander. *172*
—	Dec.	22	Bologna.	Nomination of Mandataries for the peace with t &c. *1726. 1732.*
1530	March	21	—	Compromise between the Pope and the duke of *1725.*
—	April	10	Mantua	On the Marquisate of Soragna. *1726.*
—	—	12	—	
—	—	15	—	On the Neapolitan Treasury. *MS. at Naples.*
—	June	5	Inspruck.	On repurchase in the Neapolitan realm. *1611.*
—	Aug.	11	Augsburg.	On the Neapolitan Treasury. *1605.*
—	Nov.	6	—	Printing privilege for Leviuus Panagathus. *153*
—	Dec.	21	Cologne.	Arbitration between the Pope and the Duke of *1725.*
—				Two letters to the Prince of Orange. *MS. at*
1531				Instructions for the Treasurer of Naples.
—	Jan.	7	Cologne.	To the Queen of Poland. *1872.*
—	April	21	Ghent.	Arbitration between the Pope and the Duke of *1725.*
—	June	4	—	Letter of mark against Turkish corsairs. *1605.*
—	Aug.	15	Brussels.	To the Queen of Poland. *1872.*

Valdés

PRIVATE LETTERS.

l order

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August 31	Brussels	To Peter M. Anglería. *1530. 1670.*
October 25	Aix-la-Chapelle	*Letter 1 and 3 in German 1754. 1784. 1825. 1838.*
May 13	Worms	*1854.*
June 20	Valladolid.	To Erasmus. *1785.*
Nov. 23	Burgos.	To Erasmus. *1684. 1703.*
Aug.-Oct.	Madrid.	To Bald. Castiglione. *1771. 1860 ter. 1863. Italian 1771. English 1860*
)ct.	Brussels.	To Juan Jinés Sepúlveda. *15... 1602. 1780.*

The originals of the private letters are in Latin, only n° 15 is Spanish. Trans- into Spanish, of n^{os} 1. 2. 3. 13. 36 in 1863; into English, of 1. 2. 3. 15. 5.

37	1531	Oct.	21	Brussels.	To the Roman catholic cantons of Switzerland. *1844.*
38	—	Dec.	20	—	On the Neapolitan Treasury. *1605.*
39	1532	March	25		Ratification of an agreement with Neapolitan merchants. *MS. at Naples.*
40	—	June	30	Ratisbon.	To the Queen of Poland. *1872.*
41	—	July	3	—	To the King of Poland. *1870.*
42	—	—	29	—	Privilege concerning the Provincial Governors and the Auditors in the Neapolitan realm. *1605. 1735.*
43	—	—	—	—	Grant of petitions of the Neapolitan Parliament. *1735.*

Almost all these official papers are written in Latin. N° 12 is printed in Spanish, but the original was no doubt Latin. N° 34 is Spanish.

Although it remains uncertain, how far each official paper is to be attributed to the authorship of Valdés, who signed them as State Secretary, at all events this list of residences is useful for the biography of the two brothers, so often taken one for the other.

No doubt, there will be found more letters signed by Valdés, perhaps also in printed collections of State papers. A few letters, which are, as far as I know, unprinted, are also registered here.

The numbers at the end of the lines of the foregoing list mean the years of the editions.

Editions.

I. Imperial apologetics against the Pope,

containing the three Imperial letters of 1526.

A. In Latin.

1. 1526.

Apologetici pro Carolo quinto imperatore libri duo. 1526.

I conclude the existence of an edition, printed in Spain before March 2. 1527, from the printing privilege, given on that day and prefixed to the Mayence edition (see here n° 3.)

Panzer, Annales typographici, *vol. VII, Norimb. 1799, p. 418, after having described the edition of John Schoeffer, says:* Editio sine dubio originalis, excitatur in Catal. Bibl. Svaier. p. 29. Apologetici pro Divo Carolo V. Rom. Imperat. Libri duo. Ex Balgenciaco 1526. 4. *The abbreviation* Catal. Bibl. Svaier. *means* Catalogus bibliothecae Swaierianae, Venetiis 1794. *Of course, Beaugency can not be the printing place of such an Imperial publication. I think, the last place in it was occupied by the letter of the King of France to the Electors and the other States*

of the Empire, dated Ex Balgenciaco die sexto mensis Octobris MDXXVI. *The answer of the Emperor to the Pope, the King of France and the Venetians, Valladolid Febr. 12. 1527, appears therefore to be an accession made first in the edition of Alcalá. No doubt the Swaierian copy was printed between the middle of October 1526 and the middle of February 1527, still more probably in 1526.*

2. 1527.

Invictissimi Romanorvm Imperatoris Caroli hvivs nominis qvinti, ac Hispaniarvm Regis catholici ad Dvo Clementis septimi Pontificis Romani brevia responsio, in qva ab ipso Pontifice appellat: petitqve generalis christianorvm omniv Concilii congregationem cvm nonnvllis aliis litteris, atqve actis pvblicis. Qvorvm catalogvm in proxima pagina invenies. Cvm privilegio imperiali. *Colophon:* Impressum est Compluti, per Michaelem De Eguia. Anno M. D. XXVII. die decimo Mensis Aprilis. *36 leaves in folio.*

This the title-copy and notices of Wiffen, Alfabeto Cristiano *p. LXXII. (where, however,* catalogorvm *and* Eguia) *and* Life of Valdés *p. 49. A manuscript notice of Wiffen says, that the book is printed in Roman letters, and that he sent a copy to Usóz. Usóz gives a title-copy varying in externals from Wiffen's,* Diálogo de la lengua *p. XIV. XV. cf. LII. (he has* catalogum*).*

Wiffen, Life of Valdés *l. c. considered this as* the first and official edition for Spain.

In the Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle, publiés sous la direction de M. Ch. Weiss, tome 1, Paris 1841, p. 279 *this* Recueil de diverses pièces relatives à la querelle de Charles-Quint avec le Pape Clément VII, imprimé à Alcala-de-Henarez en 1527, par Michel de Eguia, *is said to be* in-4°, non paginé, avec signatures et réclames. *After an abbreviated title-copy, the* contenu *is reported thus p. 279—80.* 1. Avertissement au pieux lecteur. 2. *The Pope's brief of June 23. 1526.* 3. *The Emperor's answer, with the act of presentation, Sept. 17.* 4. *Second brief, June 25, and Charles' answer Sept. 18.* 5. *The Emperor's letter to the Cardinals' College, Oct. 6, with presentation-instrument, Dec. 12.* A la suite se trouve: Pro invict. Rom. imper. Carolo, . . . ad ea quae per oratores rom. pontif. . . . . ac . . . regis Franc., et Venetor., ad generalem pacem componendam nuper proposita fuerunt, responsio, per actum publicum promulgata in oppido Vallisoletano, die XII februarii, anno D^ni^ 1527.

3. 1527.

× Pro in- | victiss. Cæsare Carolo | Augusto, Hispaniarum Rege Catholico &c. | ad Epistolam Franci Regis ad Principes | Imperij transmissam, necnon ad apo- | logiam Madriciæ conuen- | tionis dissuasoriam, responsio, | ac erudita admodum refutatio. | Cum alijs nonnullis lectu dignissimis, | quorum omnium catalogum uer- | sa indicabit pagella. | Cvm privilegio | Cæsareo. | Antuerpiæ in officina Joannis Gra-

phei, | Anno M. D. XXVII. | die. XIX. Mens. Augu. | *Ends* L 8 *second page with a print representing* Charitas.

Therein the letter to the Cardinals, 6 Oct. 1526, fol. L 2 — *to* [L 6], *the letter to the Pope, 18 Sept. 1526, fol.* A 3 *and* A 4.

WOLFENBÜTTEL.

4. 1527.

Pro divo | Carolo, eivs nominis | quinto Romanorum Imperatore In- | uictissimo, pio, felice, semper Augu- | sto, Patrepatriae, in satisfactionē qui- | dem sine talione eorū quae in illum | scripta, ac pleraqz̄ etiam in uul | gum aedita fuere, Apolo- | getici libri duo nu- | per ex Hispani- | is allati cum | alijs nō- | nullis, quorum catalogos ante cuiusqz̄ exordi- | um reperies. | Cum gratia & Priuilegio Imperiali. | *[The whole title in a frame.] Title leaf + 218 pages + colophon:* Excvsa svnt haec apologetica | scripta cvm nonnvllis aliis | eodem pertinentibvs Mo- | gvntiae in aedibvs Jo- | annis Schoeffer no- | nis Septemb. an- | no M. D. XXVII. | regnante in- | victissi- | mo | Romano- | rvm Caesare | Carolo eivs no | minis quin | to. | *Quarto.*

In the Imperial printing privilege, dated Valladolid March. 2. 1527, and directed to the Princes &c., we read the following (p. 2): . . . excudendorum curam nostro et Imperii Sa. fideli dilecto Joanni Schoeffer chalcographo Moguntino demandavimus ac per praesentes demandamus, ita ut ea solum quae in his nostris Hispaniarum Regnis excusa, in duos libellos redacta sunt (quorum primus binas Pontificis literas, quibus nos binis quoque respondemus, nostram praeterea epistolam ad ordinem seu collegium Cardinalium: alter vero literas nostras ad dilectiones vestras, ac caeteros Imperii Status, qua Gallicis satisfacimus, Gallicae item apologiae, quae conventionem apud Marchiam Carpentanam factam eludit: refutationem, capitulaque foederis, cui Sanctissimi titulus praenotatur, cum literis Gallorum Regis complectitur, quibus ultimo loco responsio nostro nomine Pontificis, Galli et Venetorum nunciis et oratoribus *[12. Febr. 1527]* data accedit,*) citra ullam additionem excudere, et in publicum dare possit et valeat, absque ullo impedimento: Statuimusque et decernimus auctoritate nostra Caesarea ac inhibemus, ne quis alter in universis ditionibus ac terris nobis et sacro Rom. Imperio quoquo modo subditis, praedictas literas ac libellos infra Quinquennium a prima eorundem aeditione excudat . . . *His brother Ferdinand however may get it printed in his states. Signed* Carolus. Mandato Caes. et Catho. Maiest. Alphon. Valdesius Secretarius subscripsit. V. Waldtkirch.

Follow Errata, Prologus ad pium lectorem, *first letter of the Pope, and long answer to it, dated Granada Sept. 17. 1526., signed* El Rey. Alphonsus Valdesius, *who also effected the delivery into the hands of the Papal Nuncio, as the minutes there tell.*

*) *no second bracket, neither here, nor after* complectitur *some lines above where it ought to be.*

After the Pope's second letter, the Emperor's answer, Granada Sept. 18. 1526, El Rey. Alphonsus Valdesius.

The Emperor's letter to the college of Cardinals, Granada Oct. 6. 1526, Yo El Rey. Alphonsus Valdesius.

Protocol on handing over these three Imperial letters at Rome Dec. 12. Then: libri primi finis.

BERLIN Royal, HALLE Ponickau, LEIPZIG Univ.

Offered for 8 Thalers in A. Asher & C°'s Catalogue XCVI, Berlin 1870, p. 25.

5. 1527.

⩕ Invictissimi | Romanorvm imperatoris Ca | roli, huius nominis quinti, ac Hispaniarum | regis catholici, ad duo Clemētis septimi | pontificis Romani Breuia respon | sio, in qua ab ipso pontifice | appellat: petitq̀z gene- | ralis Christia- | norum | omnium concilij congregationem, cum | nonnullis alijs literis, atque actis | publicis, quorū catalogū | in proxima pagi- | na inue- | nies. | *Colophon:* Basileae apvd Andream Cratandrvm. | . *s. a.*

Total 44 leaves, not numbered. Quarto.

Contains only the first book of the Mayence edition, together with the prologue Pio lectori, *and besides only the accessional document of Febr. 12. 1527 from the Mayence volume, leaving out the whole second book, printed there from p. 103—207. The signature of the sheets is complete and correct in this Basle print, A—L 3. This Basle edition of one of the* Apologetici libri *must have been made in 1527 or 1528. The copy belonging to the Leipzig university library bears on the title the handwriting of a possessor* m. aprili 1528, *and another notice containing also the words ...* vidi nempe 1531..

LEIPZIG Univ., GOTHA Ducal.

6. 1527.

Epistole due. Altera Clementis. VII | Papae ad Karolum V. Imperatorem Aug. &c | Altera Karoli. V. Imp. Aug. | &c. Clementi respondentis. | Legisse iuuabit. | Vaticinium de Imperatore Karolo peruetustum | Anno M. D. XXVII. | *[Below a cut representing the Emperor; at the left side of the title-words the arms of the Medici.] Colophon:* Coloniae, Impensis honesti ciuis Petri Quentell. | *Total 28 leaves. Quarto.*

The Emperor's answer of Sept. 17. 1526, without signature of Valdés.

BODLEIAN. In the copy in the University library at HALLE the last leaf is wanting.

7. 1527.

Epistolae | dvae, altera Clementis VII. | Papæ. ad Karolum. V. Imperatorem Aug. &c. | Altera Karoli. V, Imp. Aug. &c. Cle | menti respondentis. | Legisse iuuabit. | Anno domini M. D. XXVII. | Mense

Martio, | *[Thus ending with a comma. The letter* A *in* Epistolae *is considerably smaller than the other letters of the word.] Colophon:* Excusum Coloniae, Anno . M. D. XXVII. | *Total (including title) 48 leaves Octavo unnumbered, signed* A *to* F.

WOLFENBÜTTEL. The copy in my possession is a sold *double* of the Royal library at the HAGUE.

8. 1527.

„Pro divo Carolo V... in satisfactionē quidem sine talione eorumquae in illum scripta ... Apologetici libri duo. Antverpiae, apud Godfr. Dumaeum, anno 1527, *p. in — 8°, veau fauve à fit. Non cité par van Hulthem.*"

Copied from Catalogue de la bibliothèque de M. C. P. Serrure. Première partie. Bruxelles 1872. *Page* 162 *n°* 1280. *In the sale by auction (Nov. 19 foll.) the copy was paid 36 francs.*

The Bibliotheca Telleriana, Parisiis, M. DC. XCIII, *[HALLE Ponickau], has the following article p. 302:*

„Pro Carolo V. Imperatore, Apologetici Libri duo: Epistolae, Apologiae Madriciae Conventionis dissuasoriae refutatio, & alia. Antuerp. God. Dumaei, 1527. *in 8°.*"

Cf. the title of the edition of 1587 (here n° **10**).

In Wiffen's library is found a copy of these Apologetici libri duo, *of which the title-leaf and the last leaf are wanting. Before book 2 the printer's monogramm:* G H. *In Italics. Octavo. I should think, that this is a copy of God. Dumaeus' edition.*

9. 1528.

Apologetici Libri duo pro Carolo V. Imp. & alia de eadem re. Romae, apud Nicetem Pistophilum, 1528. *in 4°.*

Notice taken from Bibliotheca Maphaei Pinellii Veneti a Jacobo Morellio Bibliothecae Venetae d. Marci custode descripta, t. II, Venetiis MDCCLXXXVII. *[GOETTINGEN University library]. Page* 106, *n°* 3061.

10. 1587.

Pro divo Carolo, | eivs nominis qvinto, Ro- | manorvm imperatore invictis- | simo, pio, felice, semper av- | gusto, Patrepatriae | in satisfactionem qvidem sine ta- | lione eorvm, qvae in illvm scripta, ac pleraqz etiam in vulgum edita fuêre, | liber apologeticvs ex | Hispaniis allatvs : et primvm An- | tuerpiae, Anno 1527. apud Godfridvm Du- | maeum editus: Nunc vero re- | cusus Anno Christi | 1587. | Contenta libri proxima pagina post | prologum, qui praeter alia, causas expilationis Vati- | cani recenset, | docebit. | ✕ | *Quarto.*

No paging, signatures of the sheets a — h 3, *title being a 1. On the back of the title begins the prologue. On the first page of* a 3 *the end of the prologue, and the Index, exhibiting the two Papal and the three Imperial letters, with the two presentation instruments. Text* a 3, *second page, to* h 3, *second page.*

It is appendix of: De cavsa Colo- | niensi. | Brevis et | perspicva | commentatio | recens edita. | Eidem adiectus est | apologeticvs li- | ber Caroli V. imp. | contra pontifi- | cem Romanum Clemen- | tem VII. | Anno 1527. Antuerpiae primùm edi- | tus, nunc recusus. | Anno Domini 1588. | *Title in a frame.*

WOLFENBÜTTEL commentatio *and* apolog. liber. *LEIPZIG Univ., BOEHMER's libr. the* lib. apolog.

11. 1613.

The three Imperial letters in Collectio | constitutio- | num imperialium, || Tomus unus || ... studio | V. N. Melchioris Goldasti ... || ... MDCXIII. || Francofordiae ad Moenum. ||| *Folio. P. 479 — 502.*

HALLE Univ.

12. 1614.

Pro divo Carolo, eivs nominis qvinto, Romanorvm imperatore invictissimo, pio, felice, semper avgvsto, patrepatriae, in satisfactionem quidem sine talione eorum, quae in illum à Pontifice Romano scripta, ac pleraque etiam in vulgum aedita fuere, Apologetici libri nuper ex Hispania allati.

Printing privilege for Schoeffer, prologue, the two Papal letters and their answer, the Emperor's letter to the Cardinals, with the presentation documents. Pages 984 — 1016 of D. O. M. | Politica | imperialia, || Ex Bibliotheca ... | D. Melchioris Goldasti ... || Francofvrti || Anno M. DC. XIV. | *Folio (triple).*

HALLE Univ.

13. circa 1670.

Raynald's Annales, Romae 1646 — 77. Compare n°. **13.**

14. 1690.

The Imperial letter to the Cardinals, in Appendix ad fasciculum rerum expetendarum et fugiendarum, ab Ortuino Gratio editum ..., sive tomus secundus scriptorum veterum ... qui ecclesiae Rom. errores et abusus detegunt et damnant, necessitatemque reformationis urgent ... Operâ et studio Edwardi Brown ... Londini .. MDCXC. *Pages 687 — 9. Folio.*

HALLE Univ.

15. 1694.

Besides copious extract from the first apologetical letter of the Emperor, the second one and that to the Cardinals, in Annales ecclesiastici auctore Raynaldo t. XX. sec. edit. Colon. Agripp. M. DC. XCIIII. *p.* 463 - 471 *(ad a 1526. n°* 22 — 50*). Folio.*

In the notice p. 463 *in marg.*: Extant apud Dolgast. to. l. pag. 479. *instead of* Dolgast *read* Goldast, *see above here n°* **10.**

16. 1713.

The three Imperial letters *P. 479—502 of* Collectio | constitu- | tionum imperialium; || Editio haec recentior... ||| Tomus primus. || ... studio || Melchioris Goldasti ... ||| Francofurti ad Moenum, ||| ... Anno 1713. | *Folio.*

HALLE Univ.

17. 1732.

Pro Divo Carolo, ejus nominis quinto, Romanorum Imperatore invictissimo, pio, felice, semper Augusto, Patre patriae, in satisfactionem quidem sine talione eorum, quae in illum scripta, ac pleraque in vulgum edita fuere, liber apologeticus, ex Hispaniis allatus, & primum Antvverpiae Anno 1527. apud Godfridum Dumaeum editus: Anno 1587. vero recusus, cujus contenta, ...

The old Prologus, *the two Papal letters and their answers, the Emperor's letter to the Cardinals, with the presentation documents. Col. 1961—2022 of* Codex | Italiae | diplomaticus, || Joannes Christianus Lünig. | Tomus tertius. | Francofurti & Lipsiae, || 1732. | *Folio.*

HALLE Univ.

18. 1739.

The *Imperial letters*

to the Pope { *1526 Sept. 17, with presentation instrument*
— — *18*

to the Cardinals — *Oct. 6*

Pages 82—99 of Supplement | au | corps universel | diplomatique | du | droit des gens, | contenant | un recueil | des | traitez || et en general de tous les titres, || Qui ont échapé aux prémieres recherches de Mr. Du Mont. | Continué ... par Mr. Rousset, || Tome II. Partie I. | ✕ | A Amsterdam | M. DCC.XXXIX. | *To*

...

| A la Haye |

this title is prefixed the general one: Supplement | au | corps universel | diplomatique | du | droit des gens. | Tome troisieme. | *Folio.*

HALLE Univ.

19. 1755.

Reprint from N° **14** *in* Annales auctore Raynaldo t. duodecimus Lucae MDCCLV, *p. 561 sq. (also in this edition:* Dolgast *instead of* Goldast*). Folio.*

LEIPZIG Univ.

20. 1782.

The two letters of the Pope and the Emperor's two answers, the Emperor's letter to the Cardinals, with presentation documents. P. 240—295 in Monvmentorum ad historiam concilii Tridentini potissimvm illvstrandam spectantivm amplissima collectio. T. II. Stvdio et opera Ivdoci Le Plat. Lovanii MDCCLXXXII. *Quarto.*

HALLE Univ.

B. In German.

21. 1529.

Newe zeyttung ✕ | So in disem buchlein begriffen, von | vnnsern geistlichen vnd weltlichen | Herren vnd Obirckeiten. | *[Follow nine lines in this arrangement:]* Babst

Kaiszer
König von Franckreich
König von Engelandt
Nemlich vom Hertzogen zu Meylandt
Auch anderen Königen, Fürsten, Herren, Königreichen, Fürstenthümern, Herschafftē, Obirckeiten, Landen vnd lewten, szo dareyn getzogen. |

Erstlich ein Sendbrieff des Babsts Clementis des sibenden, | an Kaiszer Karolum den funfften. | Zum andern Kaiszer Karoli des funfften wolgerichte antwort | auff des Babsts schreiben ader Sendbrieff. | Daraus vrsachen vnd erhebunge der kriegszlewffte szo | jtzo zwischen den höchsten hewptern der Christenheit | schwebendt, darein viel vñ mancherley Lande, Völck- | er getzogen, zubefinden. | Zum dritten ein sonderlichs Pronosticon von vnserm Herren | Kaiszer, in alten büchern vnd Libereyen befunden. | 1529 | *Colophon:* Dieszer Sendtbrieff ist aus dem Latein in vn- | sere Dewtsche sprach transferirt ader dolmatscht | Anno domini Thausent funffhundert vnnd jm | achtvndtzwentzigisten jare am tag sancti Geor- | gij, Vnd sall des Kaiszers antwort in Dewtscher | sprach mittelst Götlicher vorleyhunge kürtzlich | hernach in Druck bracht werden, volgen, vnd | auszgehen. | W. S. *Quarto. Eight leaves, including title. The initials* W. S. *no doubt mean* Wolffgang Stöckel, *and this pamphlet is only the first part (containing the Pope's letter) of the work which was completed by the second part, bearing the following title:*

Antwort vnsers allergnedig- | sten herren, hern Karoli, disz | namens, des fünfften, Erwelten Römischen Kai- | sers ꝛc. auff Babsts Clementis des sibenden, | Sendbrieff, szo Kaiszerlicher Maie- | stat von seiner heilickeit | zugeschickt. | Appellation ader beruffung | Kaiszerlicher Maiestat, an ein Christenlich ge- | mein Concilium. | ✕ Im beschlus volget auch ein sonderlich Progno | sticon, von hochgedachter Kaiszerlicher Maiestat, | fast freudenreich allen Christenlichen Stenden zuer- | faren. | Vom Latein in Dewtzsche sprach transferirt | adder Dolmatzschet. |

M. D. XXVIII. | *This title in a frame formed by two parallel lines. Colophon:* Gedruckt zu Dreszden durch Wolffgang Stöckel. 1529. *Quarto. 49 leaves, title included; signed* a *to* n; m *having two leaves,* n *three. The text begins on the reverse of the title-leaf. Contains only the long letter d. d. Granada Sept. 17. and the* Prognosticon. *Both parts with the same Gothic types.*

BERLIN Roy. Two copies of each part; in one copy of part 1 the year 1529 on the title has been changed into 1528. In WOLFENBÜTTEL one copy of part 1 (the last number of the year illegible: 1529? 1528?), three copies of part 2 (in one copy by addition of a stroke M. D. XXVIIII.) The second part in the GOTHA Ducal (to the year XXVIII *on the title a stroke has been added by pen), and in the city libr. ULM.*

C. In Spanish.

22. 1604.

Imperial letter of Sept. 17. 1526.

A copious summary in Spanish, lib. 15, § 18 of Sandoval's History of Charles V, first part, Valladolid 1604.

The same in the four editions of 1614, 1618, 1634, 1638, all said to have been published at Pamplona, and in the Antwerp edition of 1681. I only have used the editions Pamplona 1618 and Antwerp 1681, both in HALLE Univ. libr., and Pamplona 1634 in WOLFENBÜTTEL.

II. The other official and private letters.

The letter to the king of England, Aug. 2. 1527, is printed in all editions and translations of the Dialogue between Mercury and Charon, which are enumerated afterwards. Only the two separate reprints of 1613 and 1739 of that letter are registered here.

23. 1525.

Relacion de las nuevas de Italia, sacadas de las cartas que los capitanes y comisario del Emperador y Rey nuestro señor han escripto a su Magestat: assí de la victoria contra el rey de Francia, como de otras cosas allá acaecidas: vista y corregida por el señor gran chanciller é cousejo de S. M. *Este pequeñisimo cuaderno termina en las siguientes palabras.*

Los señores del consejo de su Magestat, mandaron á mi Alonso de Valdés, secretario del illustre señor gran chanciller que ficiese imprimir la presente relacion. — Alfonso de Valdés.

Copied from p. 106 of Historia | de los | Protestantes Españoles | y de | su persecucion por Felipe II. | Obra escrita | por | Adolfo de Castro. || Cadiz || 1851. | *Quarto.*

De Castro remarks in the same place: del ejemplar de esta obra que existe impreso, no se deduce con evidencia ser Alfonso de Valdés el autor, sino solo quien la sacó á pública luz por órden de los señores del Consejo de Cárlos.

P. J. Pidal in his article De Juan de Valdes, *in the* Revista | Hispano-Americana, | periódico quincenal, | bajo la direccion | de d. J. J. de Mora y d. P. de Madrazo. | Entrega 1ª. | Madrid. || 1848 | *Octavo, p. 18 gives another title-copy, little varying from de Castro's only in orthography and punctuation with some additional information: Este mismo Alonso Valdes le hallamos mas adelante, en 1525, secretario del gran canciller del Emperador, y como tal dando á luz,* con privilegio imperial, *la relacion de la batalla de Pavia . . ., con este título:* Relacion de las nuevas de Italia, sacadas de las cartas que los capitanes y comisario del Emperador y Rey nuestro señor han escripto á su Majestad: assi de la victoria contra el Rey de Francia, como de otras cosas allá acaecidas: vista y corregida por el señor gran Chanciller é conséjo. de su Majestad. — *Opúsculo de 8 fol., en 4.º, letra de tortis, sin año ni lugar de impresion, pero que sin duda es del año 1525, el mismo de la batalla de Pavía: acaba así:* Los señores del consejo de su Majestad, mandaron á mí, Alonso de Valdes, secretario del illustre señor gran Chanciller, que ficiese imprimir la presente relacion. Alfonso de Valdes.

24. 1530.

Letters 1. 2. 3 *of my chronological index of Alfonso's letters are printed in:* "Petri Matyris Anglerii Mediolanēsis opvs epistolarū: nūc primū et natū et mediocri cura excusum. — In Academia Complutensi in Aedibus Michaelis de Eguia Anno a Christo nato M. D. XXX. *Small fol. First edition. Fine copy £. 3. 3 sh.*" *This I take from Vincent Salvá,* A catalogue of spanish and portuguese books, *part. II, London 1829, p. 167.* (Matyris, *as above, is found in Salvá, instead of* Martyris.)

25. 1530.

Pro reli | gione Christiana | res gestae in Comitijs Augustae | Vindelicorū habitis. Anno | Dñi M. D. XXX. | Cum Priuilegio Caesareo. |

This title is in a border. Quarto. Text A ij *to* Cij. *The first page of the third leaf of sheet* C *is occupied by the Imperial arms with the inscription* Plvs vltra. *The last leaf of sheet* C *is empty.*

The printing privilege for Levinus Panagathus at Augsburg, dated Augsburg Nov. 6. 1530, is countersigned A. Valdesius.

In BOEHMER's possession.

26. 1532.

The Emperor's letter to Erasmus in Latin, dated XIII. Dec. 1527, *with Spanish translation, dated* catorze de Dez., *in the Spanish translation, published in 1532, of Erasmus* Colloquios. *According to Usóz, Appendix of his translation of Juan Valdés Considerations, edition of 1863, p. 563 f.*

27. 1557.

The Letter to Sepulveda from Brussels 1531 will be found already in the edition of Sepulveda's epistolae said to be published at Salamanca in 1557.

28. 1602.

Letter to Sepulveda Bruxellis. 18. Calend. Nouemb. 1531: *Among Sepulveda's epistles, book 2, ep. 17, page 145 of:* Joannis | Genesii | Sepvlvedæ |[opera, [✕✕ | Coloniae Agrippinae, || Anno CIↃ.ↃCII. || *Quarto.*

HALLE Orphanhouse.

29. 1605. 1611.

Letters of 1530 June 5 vol. 3, *p.* 112
— *Aug. 11* 1, 221
1531 June 4 1, 387
— *Dec. 20* 1, 238
1532 July 29 1, 488 *in* Jus regni Neapolitani Carolo Tapia compilatore, *Naples vol. 1. 1605. vol. 3. 1611. Folio, four leaves under one signature. The pages quoted are those on which the signature of Valdés occur.*

I have not been able to see more than the three first vols and the fifth. Vls 1—3 are in the GOETTINGEN Univ. libr., vol. 1 also in the BERLIN Royal, vol. 5. (1633) in the city libr. of FRANKFURT o. M. Vls 2 and 5 do not contain any document with the signature of Alfonso Valdés. The pages quoted above are those on which his signature occurs. I regret not to have now the vols at my disposition.

30. 1613.

Imperial letter to the King of England, August 2. 1527. *The Original, which no doubt was in Latin, is not known. In the Public Record Office at London, where I personally applied for documents signed by A. Valdés, I was told, there were none.*

A Spanish text of it was published first in Juan Valdés' dialogue between Mercury and Charon, and was consequently repeated in all editions and translations of it, which see enumerated hereafter.

Besides it is printed on p. 224—5 of Reichssatzung | Der Ander Theil. | Durch . . . Melchiorn Goldasten | . . . | . . Franckfurt am Mayn . . | . . 1613. | *Folio. HALLE Univ. Goldast gives only a German translation of the letter without telling where he took it. It is taken from the German translation of Valdés Dialogue between Mercury and Charon p. 53—57, of which translation the first edition was published in 1609. In Goldast the letter is misdated: 7 instead of 2 of August. The edition of 1609 of the dialogue has correctly 2, not 7. I have not now at hand the edition of the dialogue of 1613. Possibly this second edition was used by Goldast whose preface is dated March 30. 1613, Frankfurt o. M.*

31. 1670.

Letters 1. 2. 3 *are printed under the numbers DCLXXXIX (p. 380—382), DCXCIX (p. 389—391), DCCXXII (p. 411—412) of the* Opus | epistolarum | Petri Martyris | Anglerii Mediolanensis, | | Amstelodami, Typis Elzevirianis. | CIↃ IↃC LXX. | *Fol.*

HALLE Univ.

32. 1684.

Erasmo. Burgis 9 cal. Dec. [23. Nov.] 1527.

In: Historiae ecclesiasticae | seculi a. n. C. XVI. | supplementum; plurimorum et celeberrimorum ex illo aevo | theologorum epistolis, | ad Joannem, Erasmum et Philippum, | Marbachios, | antehac scriptis, nunc vero ex biblio- | theca Marbachiana primum depromptis, | constans. . . . una cum | apparatu | ad totum opus necessario, | et | tabulis chronologico-historicis, | editvm a | Jo. Fechtio, ss. th. lic. | . . . Franco-fvrti & Spirae, | impensis Christophori Olffen, Bibliopolae. | Dvrlaci, | Typis Martini Mulleri, Anno M DC LXXXIV. | *Quarto. The letter of Valdes is epist. XXXV*

partis octavae, p. 845—6. Fecht p. 175 of the apparatus is right in thinking it a letter of Alfons.

HALLE Univ.

33. 1703.

Letter d. die 13. Decembris 1527. *Signed* Carolvs. *The following notice is added:* Inscriptio à tergo haec erat, Honorabili, docto, devoto, nobis dilecto Des. Erasmo Roterodamo, Consiliario nostro.

Alph. Valdesivs.

Valdés name, thereforo, was found on the address, *Epist. DCCCCXV. in* Desiderii Erasmi ‖ opera omnia ‖[Tomus tertius ‖[*Lvgdvni Batavorvm,* ‖ . . . *MDCCIII.* ‖ *Folio. Column* 1047—8. The text is not literally the same as that reprinted by Usóz *(see n° 47) who has)* Lutheranorum insaniam inclinari, *whilst here* declinare.

Alf. Valdés' letter to Erasmus Burgis 23 Nov. 1527, *is found in the same t. 3 in the* appendix, *col.* 1721—2, *as ep.* CCCXLII. *It is signed there with an asterisk as a new accession of this collection, cf.* Index chronologicus *prefixed to the volume, and the notice before this Index, and preface fol.* 2. No doubt, it is reprinted from Fecht (here n° 32).*

HALLE Univ.

34. 1725—35.

Twelve letters:

1524 Oct. 30.	*in t.* III,	*col.* 831—6.		
1529 June 29.	IV,	235—52.		
— *Sept. 13.*	III,	1883—4.		
— — *21.*	III,	1885—6.		
— *Dec. 22.*	III,	162—3.		
1530 March 21.	I,	1664—6.		
— *Apr. 10.*	II,	541—6.		
— — *12.*	II,	545—6.	(*The same letter is repeated there under number* VII, *col.* 545—8, *with the erroneous date:* decimo Aprilis 1536.)	
— *Dec. 21.*	I,	1670—2.		
1531 April 21.	I,	1663—74.		
1532 July 29.	IV,	879—98.		
— *second letter of this same day*	IV,	897—900	*of the work:*	

Codex | Italiae | diplomaticus, ‖[Collegit, . . . ‖ Joannes Christianus Lünig. | >< | Francofurti & Lipsiae, ‖ 1725. |

‖[Tomus secundus. ‖[1726.

‖[Tomus tertius. ‖[1732. |

‖[Tomus quartus & ultimus. ‖[1735. |

Folio.

HALLE Univ.

35. 1726.

Investiture of Sforza, 30. Oct. 1524. P. 398—99 *of* Corps universel | diplomatique | du | droit des gens; ‖[par M^r^. J. Du Mont, ‖[Tome IV. Partie I. | >< | A Amsterdam, ‖[MDCCXXVI. |

Treatise between the Emperor and the Pope, 29. June 1529; diplomas for Frederik Gonzaga, 13 and 21 Sept. 1529; nomination of mandataries for the peace with the Pope, 22. Dec. 1529, P. 1—7; 49—50; 56. *of the same* Corps universel | diplomatique |[par | J. Du Mont,... |[Tome IV. Partie II. |[MDCCXXVI. | *Folio.*

HALLE Univ.

36. 1739.

To the King of England 1527 Aug. 2, in German, reprinted from Goldast's Reichssatzungen (here n° **29**), *and misdated, as there: seventh, instead of second, of August. Pages* 99—100 *of Rousset's* Supplement. *to* Du Mont Corps diplomatique, tome 2, partie **1.** 1739. (here n° **35**).

HALLE Univ.

37. 1754.

Letters 1 *and* 3 *to Martyr Anglerius translated into German by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing in the third volume of his* Schriften, *published at Berlin in 1754 (Duodec.) in the* Rettung des Cochläus, aber nur in einer Kleinigkeit p. 234—252. *Cochlaeus had by a recent writer been called the inventor of the fable, that Luther's opposition against Rome proceeded from envy, which he, an Augustinian monk, had of the Dominicans, to whom the sale of indulgences had been transferred from his own order. Lessing shows that already in 1520 Alfonso de Valdés had written, after relating the origin of the Lutheran movement:* Habes primam huius tragoediae scenam, quam monachorum odiis debemus. Dum enim Augustinensis invidet Dominicano et Dominicanus vicissim Augustinensi, atque hi etiam Franciscanis, quid quaeso poterimus praeter gravissima dissidia sperare? *[Before this passage he says:* Lutherus ... Dominicani fortassis invidia motus ...] *The German critic reports, that besides the letter from Brussels, in which this occurs, there is another letter on the Lutheran affair written by the same author at Worms, and a third one on another subject, all three in the epistolary of Martyr, to whom they are directed. He continues* (p. 232 f.): Es verlohnet sich ohne Zweifel der Mühe, dass ich von den erstern Brifen etwas umständlicher rede, besonders da sie so wenig bekannt geworden sind. Ich wüsste nicht einen einzigen Schriftsteller, der sich mit der Reformationsgeschichte abgegeben hätte, und ihrer gedächte. Unterdessen hätten sie es doch nur allzuwohl verdient, weil sie in der That mit vieler Unpartheylichkeit geschrieben zu seyn scheinen. Ich hoffe dass eine Art von Uebersetzung derselben, dem Leser angenehm sein wird ... *After the translation he remarks, that, judging from Luther's disinterested and magnanimous character, that tale as to his envy has very little likelihood. On Valdés' two letters he adds* (p. 258 f.)*:* Ich glaube, sie verdienen auch schon deswegen einige Achtung, weil sich Valdesius über die Fehler des Pabst sehr frey darinne erklärt, und genugsam zeigt, dass er das damalige Verderben der Kirche eingesehen habe. *At the end, Lessing hints at some words which Pope Leo X, in the beginning of the reformation movement, dropped about* invidie fratesche.

38. 1771.

Lettera | del segretario Valdes | al conte | Baldessar | Castiglione | nunzio in Ispagna. | *Spanish original with Italian translation. P. 171—174 of the work:* Delle lettere | del conte | Baldessar | Castiglione | ora per la prima volta date in luce | e con Annotazioni Storiche illustrate | dall'abate | Pierantonio Serassi | volume secondo ||| [*vignette*] | In Padova | CIↃIↃCCLXXI. ||| *Q.*

HALLE Univ.

39. 1780.

Letter to Sepulveda, Brussels XVIII. Kal. Nov. 1531. *Pag. 119 of Sepulveda's epistles in* Joannis | Genesii Sepulvedae | Cordubensis | opera, | cum edita, tum inedita, | accurante | regia historiae academia. | Volumen tertium. | *[Royal arms]* | Matriti. || Anno M. DCC. LXXX. | *Q.*

HALLE Univ.

40. 1784.

German translation of Letters 1 and 3 in Lessings sämmtliche Schriften. Dritter Theil. Berlin 1784. *Octavo. P.* 68—83.

41. 1785.

Letter to Erasmus dated Valladolid 12 Calend. Jul. 1527. On p. XVIII—XXII of || Spicilegium V. | Autographorum, illustrantium rationem, quae intercessit | Erasmo Roterodamo cum aulis et hominibus aeui sui praeci- | puis omnique república. *Composed by Burscher who is not named in this publication. He dates at the end on p.* XXX: Lipsiae, Domin. Exaudi, A. R. S. CIↃIↃCCLXXXV. *Colophon ib.*: Lipsiae, ex officina Klavbarthia.

Published as pentecost-programm of the University of Leipzig. Quarto.

The whole series of 33 spicilegia has got the general title:

D. Joannis Friderici Bursch[illegible]i || spicilegia avtographorvm | illvstrantivm rationem, qvae intercessit | Erasmo Roterodamo | cvm avlis et hominibvs aevi svi praecipvis omniqve | repvblica, | svb avspiciis | ivbilaei | magisterialis semisaecvlaris | magnifici Burscheri | die IX Avgvsti MDCCCII | collegit, edidit et praefatvs est | Fridericvs Leberecht Schoenemann ||| Lipsiae | in bibliopolio Klavbarthio | MDCCCII |

LEIPZIG Univ.

The autograph of Valdés is still preserved in the Leipzig University library. I forwarded a tracing of it to Wiffen, which was sent no doubt to $U_{sóz.}$

42. 1825.

German translation of Letters 1 and 3 in Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften. Vierter Band. Berlin 1825. Oct. *P.* 106—128.

43. 1838.

German translation of Letters 1 and 3 in Lessings sämmtliche Schriften herausgegeben von Karl Lachmann. Vierter Band. Berlin 1838. *Octavo. P.* 92—98.

44. 1844.

Letter of 21 Oct. 1531. P. 561—2 of Correspondenz | des | Kaisers Karl V. | Aus dem | Königlichen Archiv und der Bibliothèque de | Bourgogne zu Brüssel | mitgetheilt | von | Dr. Karl Lanz. | Erster Band. | 1513—1532. | Leipzig: | F. A. Brockhaus. | 1844. | *Oct.*

45. 1853.

Letter of 30 Nov. 1528 in Lafuente's Historia de España, *vol. 12, Madrid 1853, p. 497 f.*

46. 1854.

German translation of Letters 1 and 3 in Lessing's sämmtliche Schriften *edited by* W. von Maltzahn. Vierter Band. Leipzig 1854. *Octavo. P.* 95—102.

47. 1860.

Letter to count Castiglione, reprinted from Serassi, and, instead of the Italian translation, an English one, in The life and times | of | Aonio Paleario || By M. Young. || Volume I. | London: || 1860. || *Octavo. Pages 549—551.*

48. 1860.

Letter to count Castiglione, reprinted from Serassi, and, instead of the Italian translation, la misma Carta orijinal, correjida su ortografía, i tenór, *by Luís Usóz i Rio, in the Appendix of his edition of Juan Valdés* Diálogo de la lengua 1860, *p.* 8—15 (*cf. Preface p.* XXXXVI.).

49. 1861 f.

Letter of 30 Nov. 1528 in Lafuente's Historia de España, *Madrid 1861 f. I have not seen this edition.*

50. 1863.

Spanish translation of the letters

to Pedro Martir de Anglería (1. 2. 3.)	*Usóz'*	*P. 473—493,*
to Erasmus 23. 11. 1527	*trans-*	*P. 494—497,*
to Sepúlveda 16. Oct. 1531)*	*lations*	*P. 542—543,*
to count Castiglione, Spanish original		*P. 559—562,*
to Erasmus, catorze de Dez. *1527 and Spanish translation*		*P. 565—567,*

this last one in Latin, dated XIII Dec., *reprinted like the old translation, from the Spanish translation published 1532 of Erasmus* Colloquios *P. 567—569*

in the Appendix *of Usóz' translation of Juan Valdés Considerations, edition of 1863.*

51. 1865.

English translation by Wiffen

of the letters to Peter Martyr de Anglería	
from Brussels and Worms	*P. 30—35,*
from Aix-la-Chapelle	*P. 45—47,*
of the Emperor's reply to Erasmus, Dec. 1527,'	*P. 37—38,*
of the letter to Castiglione	*P. 76—77*

in Wiffen's Life and writings of Juán de Valdés *1865.*

52. 1870.

Letter to Cardinal Salviati 28 July 1527, published, not from the original, but from a contemporary copy, by B. Morsolin, p. 6—7 of Archivio | storico italiano | fondato da G. P. Vieusseux || Serie terza | Tomo XII—Parte I | Anno 1870 | In Firenze || 1870. *Oct.*

It is the same letters, of which I, in my Cenni sui fratelli Valdesso *p. 486, had pointed out a copy as found among the Cottonian manuscripts, and had printed*

*) Usóz: *XVIII. Kalend. Novemb., es seguramente errata, por XVII.* Cf. Cenni p. 506.

the signatures, according to a tracing forwarded to me by Wiffen. The Catalogue of the manuscripts in the Cottonian library, 1802, *has on p. 404* (Vitellius B. IX. 72. fol. 139): The Emperor Charles V, to Card. Salviati; on the late events at Rome, which he disavows. (Lat.) Valladolid, July 28, 1527. *The end, in the* Archivio storico *not only abbreviated, but also spoiled, runs thus, according to the above mentioned tracing:* quibus mentem nostram proprio ore explicuimus, Reverendissima Paternitas vestra accipiet. Quam diu feliciter vivere et valere optamus Datum in opido nostro Vallisoleti die XXVIII Julii anno Domini MDXXVII Regnorum nostrorum Ro[*mani*] octavo et aliorum *[number wanting].*

In the Archivio is printed Jo Cl. Rey, yo el rey
and Valdés' signature is wanting. Alph. Valdesius.

53. 1870.

Regi Poloniae Carolus imp. Ratisponae 3 Jul. 1532. *Countersigned* A. Valdesins. *Published by Edw. Boehmer in:* Zeitschrift | für die | historische Theologie. | [herausgegeben von | Dr. Karl Friedrich August Kahnis. | Jahrgang 1870. | Zweites Heft. | Gotha, | Friedrich Andreas Perthes. | 1870. *Pages 308—310. Octavo.*

54. 1872.

Three Imperial letters to Bona, Queen of Poland
1531 Jan. 7
— Aug. 15
1532 June 30.

Mr Pohl, Domvicar at Frauenburg, Ostpreussen, whose kindness I have thankfully acknowledged when printing the Imperial letter of July 3. 1532, informed me upon my question whether there were not more letters signed by Valdés in the Episcopal Archives, that indeed there were four others, and at the same time he sent tracings of some lines of each of them, especially of the four signatures of A. Valdesius, *together with some notices on the manuscripts. At my request, the Episcopal Secretary, Mr. Weitzenmiller, was so kind as to copy for me the three documents, the fourth being only a duplicate of one of those three. They are found in the same volume* (Abtheilung D, vol. 132) *with the letter printed by me in 1870.*

The letter of January 1531 is signed by Charles own hand. It is countersigned by Valdés' own hand, and throughout written by the same, to judge from the words traced for me by M. Pohl: Coloniae Die [VII] Mensis [Januarij] Anno Dñi MDXXXj. *Only the number and the month, put here in brackets, are written with another hand and ink. — The second copy of this letter has the notice* fuit duplicata. *In the tracing of the signature* A. Valdesius *I recognize the Secretary's own handwriting. The titles in the beginning are left out:* Carolus ect. Ser^me^ ect.

The letter of Aug. 1531. is no original, and neither signed by Charles himself, nor written or countersigned by Valdés.

The letter of June 1532 is written and countersigned by Valdés' own hand, and signed by the Emperor's as in the first letter ur bonus frater Carolus I. *The* I, *Imperator, is recognizable also in the letters of July 3. 1532, where it has been omitted in the print.*

The bracketed letters are injured in the ms, and added here by conjecture. The interpunction is mine. Also have I written out abbreviations, and sometimes replaced e *by* ae, *for instance* Dominae Bonae *for* Domine Bone.

Carolus Augustus, divina favente clementia Romanorum Imperator, ac Germaniae, Hispaniarum, utriusque Siciliae, Hierusalem etc. Rex, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae et Galliae, Belgicae Dominus etc., Serenissimae Principi, Dominae Bonae, Reginae Poloniae, Ducissae Barri etc., Sorori et Consanguineae nostrae carissimae, salutem et fraterni amoris perpetuum incrementum. Serenissima Princeps, Soror et Consanguinea carissima. Quum Mantuae ageremus, audientes Scipionem de Summa in Castris Gallorum urbem nostram Neapolim obsidione prementium fuisse, hisque tum pro se tum pro Serenitate Vestra, a qua nullum ad id mandatum habuisse sat scimus, homagium praestitisse, tametsi a Vicerege nostro Neapolitano gratiam et indultum habuerat, indignus nobis visus est, qui ullam in eo Regno nostro administrationem obtineret, et propterea hominem a gubernio [H]ydrunti et Barri deposuimus, atque Reverendo Episcopo Culmensi, Serenitatis Vestrae Oratori, commisimus, ut ad eam nostris verbis scriberet, quo eum hominem administratione status quem in eo Regno habet privaret. Quod cum Serenitas Vestra extemplo pro singulari sua in nos benevolentia fecerit, has ad Serenitatem Vestram scribere voluimus, ut pro eo officio gratiam nos ei plurimam habuisse, et quod idem Orator de ea re scripsit e mente atque voluntate nostra processisse seiret. Quam diu feliciter vivere et regnare cupimus. Datum in civitate nostra Imperiali Coloniae, die VII. mensis Januarii anno Domini MDXXXI^{0}, Imperii nostri undecimo, Regnorum autem nostrorum omnium quintodecimo.

Vester bonus frater
Carolus I
A. Valdesius.

Carolus etc. Serenissimae Principi, Dominae Bonae, Reginae Poloniae, Ducissae Barri etc, Sorori et Consanguineae nostrae carissimae, salutem et fraterni amoris perpetuum incrementum. Serenissima Princeps, Soror et Consanguinea carissima. Consuevimus eos commendatos habere, quorum virtus, et nobilitas vitae, morumque honestas, fides, atque diuturna servitia fideliter praestita, sunt comprobata. Quae cum de strenuo viro Wenceslao Proczeck, Dapifero, comperta habeantur, et ad nos usque perlata sint, cupientes illum, pro eius virtute singulari, nostra gratia qua omnes bonos prosequimur complecti, Serenitati Vestrae eundem commendandum duximus, rogantes partes suas apud coniugem suum Serenissimum Poloniae Regem, fratrem nostrum carissimum, pro eodem Wenceslao interponat, ut quum diu et fideliter servierit, et maiorem aetatis suae partem in eo servitio absumserit, digna eius pro meritis ratio et gratia habeatur. Quae veteranis, et praesertim aulicis, quemadmohum Serenitati Vestrae incognitum non est, rependi solet uberius, nedum concedi. Ea in re votis nostris non defuturam Serenitatem Vestram confidimus. Datum in opido nostro Bruxellarum, die decimo quinto mensis Augusti, anno Domini MDXXXI, Imperii nostri undecimo, Regnorumque nostrorum omnium decimo quinto.

Vester bonus frater
Carolus
A. Valdesius.

Carol[us Quint]us, divina favente clementia Romanorum Imperator Augustus, ac Germaniae, Hispaniarum utriusque Siciliae Hierusalem etc. Rex, Archidux Austriae, Dux Burgundiae, Comes Flandriae etc., Serenissimae Principi, Dominae Bonae, Reginae Poloniae [Ducis]sae Bari, Sorori et Consanguineae nostrae carissimae salutem et fraterni amoris perpetuum incrementum. Serenissima Princeps, Soror et Consanguinea carissima. Quod Reverendum Joannem Dantiscum, Episcopum Culmensem, Serenitatis Vestrae Oratorem, hucusque apud nos retinuerimus, et quae a nobis saepius Serenitatis Vestrae nomine postulavit, non concesserimus, in causa fuit non quod is studii quicquam aut diligentiae in promovendo negotio praetermiserit, qui potius studiosissime rem apud nos egit, aut parum affectum erga Serenitatem Vestram animum in nobis invenerit, qui ei in omnibus gratificari optamus, sed tum valetudo nostra parum prospera, tum ingentes occupationes effecerunt, quominus quae ille instantissime postulabat, et nos ex animo praestare optabamus, hucusque absolvere non potuerimus. Nunc tandem Serenitatis Vestrae rebus, si non omnino ex sententia, certe quod hoc tempore per nos praestari potuit confectis, hominem dimisimus, eumque hortati sumus ut Serenitati Vestrae nostris verbis plurimam salutem dicat, et de nostro animo ac voluntate quantum sibi polliceri possit aperiat, Serenitatem Vestram rogamus ut virum aeque nobis gratum ac de Serenitate Vestra bene meritum grato animo excipiat, omnique gratia et favore prosequatur, factura in hoc rem Serenitate Vestra dignam, huic viro debitam, et nobis maiorem in modum gratam. Quam diu feliciter vivere et regnare optamus. Datum in civitate nostra Imperiali Ratispona, die ultima mensis Junii, anno Domini MDXXXII, Imperii nostri duodecimo, Regnorumque nostrorum omnium decimo septimo.

Vester bonus frater
Carolus I
A. Valdesius.

Alfonso and Juan de Valdés.

Dos diálogos.

The dialogues between Mercury and Charon are found amongst Authorum incerti nominis libri prohibiti *in Pius' IV. Index of 1564. Cf. my* Cenni *p.* 492.

Of the dialogues Mercurio *and* Lactancio *there are*

in Spanish six editions of both together, the first probably 1529, four others of the sixteenth century the sixth 1850. Besides, Lactancio *separately 1586.*

in Italian seven editions, the first 1546, five others probably before 1550, all before the end of the century.

in English Lactancio *1590. Extracts from both 1860. 1865.*

in German Mercury 1609. 1613. 1643. Part of it 1714 and probably already earlier.

55. 1529? *[Dos diálogos, 1. ed.]*

Dialogo de Mercurio y Ca | ron: en que allende de muchas cosas graciosas y de buena | doctrina: se cuenta lo que ha acaescido en la guerra | desdel año de mill y Qujnjentos y veynte y | vno hasta los desafios delos Reyes de | francia ỽ Ynglaterra hechos al | Emperador en el año de | MDXXiij | *[sic] [Ornamental leaf.]*

S. l. e. a. The whole book Gothic. Large Octavo. Breadth of the printed column 95 millimètres, height (from the last line to the top of the n of the first line) 155 millimètres, both measures pretty constant. 73 leaves, title included, registered to K. The Prohemio *begins* A II, *the dialogue on the back of the same leaf. No numbers of pages or leaves. A very fine typographical specimen.*

This appears to be the Gothic edition, from which Usóz printed his own in 1850 (see below nº **61***). Whatever Usóz reports in his notes as read in his archetype, is found in the above described edition, for instance* che *instead of* que *,Usóz p. 277, even errata like* dererminate *for* determinate, incorcupto *for* incorrupto, *ib. p. 235. 238, also the injured letter which makes Usóz p. 245 doubt whether to read* esse *or* este; *where Usóz has indicated a hiatus p. 228, the word* mas *is the last of the page in the old print. In only two instances have I found a difference between that one and Usóz's statements. He says p. 194, his original had* Saco *instead of* Eaco, *but it has (F IIII, misprinted III)* faco, *the* f *could, however, easily be mistaken for an* s. *And secondly, according to him p. 321, the same edition had* uiños desdecalabrándose *instead of* niños de descalabrarse; *it has indead* uiños, *but* desde calabrarse, *and I should think Usóz has made some mistake. As for orthography, he purposedly does not keep to his original, even when reporting its reading, nor are his marginal numbers, indicating the beginning of the leaves of the original, always exactly placed at the right line. Lastly, it is of no consequence that Usóz p. V calls his old edition a Quarto-volume; so most people would call it, although erroneously, as proved by the registral letters.*

In one instance for que *is printed* che, *as already stated, and in another place* sangue *for* sangre *(see our table below p. 106). Usóz remarks in the preface to his edition (below nº* **61***) p. VII:* A mi ver estas erratas indican que el libro que las tiene se imprimió en Italia. *But* sangue *might be misprinted for* sangne *which is the ancient Spanish form from which* sangre *is derived, or it could like* che *be a mistake in the manuscript, perhaps written by an Italian copyist.*

ROSTOCK Univ., MUNICH. The GOETTINGEN Univ. libr. has a copy, in which are wanting the title leaf, sheet E, *and the leaves* H I, H VII, H VIII, J I. *I have actually collated the Goettingen copy and the Munich one.*

On the title-front of the Munich copy is written: Jo. Alberti Widmestadij. (Widme- *as is proved by the* e *in* Alberti).

Dialogo: en que particularmente se tratan: las cosas | acaecidas en Roma: el año de | M. D. XXVij. | A gloria de Dios y bien vniuersal dela | Republica christiana. |

S. l. e. a. The title and the whole book Gothic. Octavo. Registered a *to* d. *The layer* d *has ten leaves, the last signature is* d V. *Therefore, title including, 34 leaves; unnumbered.* Al Lector *on* a II; *on the second page of this leaf:* Argumento *and the beginning of the dialogue;* Segunda parte *on* b VI, *page 2, top. The types are the identical ones of the first edition of the Mercurio; the columns are of exactly the same dimensions as in that edition; paper and watermark are the same in both. They have evidently been destined to accompany each other, and, the signatures of the Lattanzio being given in small letters, this dialogue was meant to occupy the second place.*

The ROSTOCK University library has a copy of both of them, bound in one volume, first the Mercurio, than the Lattanzio, The margins of the copy are narrowly cut.

The title-leaf of this edition is prefixed to the Goettingen copy just spoken of, of the dialogo de Mercurio, *of which the right title is wanting. The types are the same as in that edition of the Mercury-dialogue. Also the watermark is the same as in several leaves of our first Mercurio edition, in the Goettingen copy and in the Munich one.*

Wiffen gives a title-copy from another printed copy and adds the following: „S. l. et a. In 4to. not numbered 34 leaves, registered a-d^{10} *= 34. Gothic letter. — I take this to be the first edition, corresponding with the 4to edition of the* Dialogo de Mercurio. *The copy I have seen is a very fine one, clean, with large margins and some edges uncut at the bottom. It appears to have been formerly bound up with other tracts. Below the title is the name of a former possessor* Joan. Alberti Widmestadij. *It was sold by auction in Quatremère's library at Paris in 1859." Wiffen's notice on the registration shows that the size is octavo, as is that of the other dialogue once likewise in Widmestad's possession.*

In the Preface, dated June 1555, of his edition of the Syriac New Testament, Widmanstadius *(so he writes himself there) tells, that he had begun his Syriac studies at Bologna in 1529:* cum ego Christianae Salutis Anno M. D. XXIX. in Diui Caroli Caesaris inuictissimi, Sacri diadematis causa Bononiam proficiscentis comitatu essem ... *(fol. a***3), and that he made studies in Arabic at Rome about the time of the death of the great Arabic scholar Aegidius Viterbiensis (ib. next leaf). Aegidius died 1532, Nov. 12. Widmanstadj may, therefore, have known personally both Juan and Alfonso de Valdés.*

Joachim Camerarius writes to George Sigismund Seld, Imperial Counsellor, who died in 1565: Cum autem nuper audiissem in omni genere doctrinae excellentis viri Dn. Johan. Alberti Widmerstadij *[sic]* bibliothecam ad te pervenisse ... *(Camerarii epist. famil., Frcf. 1583, p. 113), and Andreas Masius says, in his* Gram-

matica linguae Syricae, Antverp. 1571, *p. 4:* Cum igitur, ut audio, Widmanstadii libros omnes, sane non vulgares, Illustrissimus Bavarorum Dux sibi redemerit ... *From that time the above described copy of the* Dialogo de Mercurio y Caron *is in the Munich library. Widmestad's copy of the dialogue on the sack of Rome, sold in the auction Quatremère, probably was bought by Wiffen and sent to Madrid for Usóz.*

56. 15.. *[Dos diálogos, 2. ed.]*

Dialogo de Mercurio y | Caron: en que allende de muchas | cosas graciosas y de buena do- | ctrina: se cuenta lo q̄ ha acae | scido en la guerra desdel | año de mill y Qujnjen- | tos y veynte y vno | hasta los desafios | delos Reyes | de Francia ỽ Ynglaterra | hechos al Empera | dor en el año de | MDXXiij. | *[Ornamental leaf].*

S. l. e. a. The whole book Gothic. Octavo. 94 leaves, title including, registered to [M VI], leaves numbered. The leaves M VII and VIII are blank. Prohemio *begins fol. 2, the dialogue fol. 3, first page,* Secund libro *fol. 57, first page, top. (Catchword fol. 56:* Secudn*). Fol. 26 is without number, some leaves are misnumbered: for 29 is printed 26, and the leaves 82, 84, 86, 88 are numbered respectively* 74, 76, 78, 80, *which four numbers thus recur a second time.*

Dialogo: en que particu- | larmente se tratan: las cosas aca | ecidas en Roma: el año de | M. D. XXVII. | A gloria de Dios y bien vni- | uersal dela Republica | Christiana. | *[Ornamental leaf.]*

S. l. e. a. The first line of the title Gothic, the rest of the title Roman, the book Gothic. Octavo. 43 leaves, title included, registered to [f III], leaves numbered, the 44th unnumbered, empty. Al Lector *fol. 2,* Argumento *and beginning of dialogue on the second page of the same leaf,* Segunda parte *fol. 18, p. 1, top.*

This dialogue is evidently printed in the same office as the other one, and destined to accompany it.

GOETTINGEN Univ., both.

The volume, containing both dialogues, bought in Germany for the Bodleian library in 1857 (for £ 3. 12), with the inscription on the title Coll. Soc. Jesu Augustae, *probably belongs to this edition.*

57. 15.. *[Dos diálogos, 3. ed.]*

The copy of both dialogues in the BRITISH MUSEUM, in one volume, which formerly belonged to Mr Richard Heber, is, according to Wiffen, „a different edition from the two preceding, making three editions in Gothic letter."

Unless Usóz, who, for his edition of the dialogue on the sack of Rome, used a transcript of this Gothic copy of the British Museum, has misinterpreted his information, or, which is more unlikely, Wiffen, who had himself taken the transcript, has made a mistake, the London copy in a passage found at p. 365 of Usóz' edition has, as Usóz remarks: V q̄. *This would show, that the edition is a reprint of that which I think the second, for in this we find fol.* b IIII: y q̄, *but the* y *without its tail, which is broken of; ed. 4 has* y q̄, *ed. 1 and 5 have* y que.

58. 15.. *[Dos diálogos, 4. ed.]*

Dialogo de Mercurio y | Caron: en que allende de muchas | cosas graciosas y de buena do | ctrina: se cuenta lo q̄ ha acae | scido en la guerra desdel | año de mill y Qujnjen | tos y veynte y vno | hasta los desafios | delos Reyes | de Francia ı ynglaterra | hechos al Empera | dor en el año de | M D XXiij. | *[Ornamental leaf]. S. l. e. a.*

Title Gothic, the book in Roman Letter. Octavo. No numbers of pages or leaves. A II Prohemio, *ending* A III *where on the first page the dialogue begins. With* H *begins* Secund libro. *The book ends on the first page of* M VII, *the 95th leaf, title included. The eighth leaf of sheet* M *is left void like the back of* M VII.

Dialogo: en que particu- | larmente se tratan: las cosas aca | ecidas en Roma: el año de | M. D. XXVII. | A gloria de Dios y bien vni- | uersal de la Republica | Christiana. | *S. l e. a. Only the first line of the title Gothic, the rest and the whole book in Roman letter. Octavo. No numbers of pages or leaves.* a ij Al Lector. *On the second page of* a ij *after the end of this preface* Argumento *and beginning of the dialogue.* Segunda parte *begins* c ij, *on the first page; ends* f IV, *first page. Total 44 leaves, title included.*

In form and types and paper exactly equal to the edition just described of the Mercurio y Caron. *The registration by small letters, whilst those of the other dialogue are large ones, shows that the printer thought, that both might well be bound together.*

MUNICH, both in one volume of contemporaneous binding, first Mercurio y Caron, *then the other dialogue. On the title of the former is written:* Ad Conventū Monacensē ord. Erē. S. Augni 1733.

In the dialogue on the sack of Rome the passage bracketed by Usóz Dos diálogos *p. 452 is found in this edition* c IV.

This edition of the Dos diálogos *is printed with the same types, Gothic as well as Roman, as edition 2. Also two characteristic initials, representing human busts, occur here again in the Mercurio dialogue, the* L *in the beginning of the* Prohemio, *and the* M, *there in the beginning of each* libro, *here only in the beginning of the second.*

59. 15.. *[Dos diálogos, 5. ed.]*

Dialogo de Mer- | cvrio y Caron: en qve allen | de de mvcas cosas graciosas | y de buena doctrina: se cuenta lo que ha acae | scido en la guerra desdel año de mill y Qui | nientos y veynte y vno hasta los de | safios delos Reyes de Francia et | ynglaterra hechos al Em- | perador en el año de | M. D. XXiij. | ✕ | *A woodcut representing the archangel Michael standing on Satan and threatening to pierce him; at the two sides above two little angels, below two boys.*

S. l. e. a. Throughout Roman types. Octavo.

The Prohemio *occupies the second leaf, the dialogue begins on the third,* Secund libro *on the second page of* F VII. *The whole ends page 2 of* K VII. *The last leaf of the tenth sheet is blank. Total 79 leaves, including title.*

This probably is the edition of the dialogue between Mercury and Charon, of which Puigblanch, Inquisition unmasked, *London 1816, vol. 2. p. 41 says:* an 8vo volume, apparently printed in Flanders.

Notice on the title mvcas *for* muchas, *and the wrong year 1523 instead of 1528.*

Dialogo: en que particu- | larmente se tratan: las cosas aca | ecidas en Roma: el año de | M. D. XXVII. | Agloria de Dios y bien vni- | uersal de la Republica | Christiana. |

S. l. e. a. First line of the title Gothic, the rest and the whole book Roman. Octavo. Registration A—E IV, *total 36 unnumbered leaves, title including.* A II: Al Lector, *ending on the second page, where, after the* Argumento, *begins the dialogue.* B VII, *p. 1:* Segunda parte. E IV, *p. 2:* Finis.

A copy of this edition of the Lactancio-dialogue is in the National library at PARIS. Of some of the misprinted words, quoted in our table below p. 106, there are manuscript corrections.

The MUNICH library has a copy of this edition of both dialogues, bound together. In types, form and paper they exactly suit each other.

60. 1596. *[Diálogo del saco de Roma, 6. ed.]*

Dialogo en | qve particvlar- | mente se tratan las co- | sas acaecidas en Roma: el | año de M. D. XXVII. | A la gloria de dios y bien vniuersal | de la Republica Christiana. | *[Two ornaments]* | Impresso en Paris, en el a- | ño de salud. | 1586. |

Title leaf, one leaf: el corrector de la imprimeria al prudente Lector, *then p. 1—77. Octavo.*

This edition has an addition at the end, see edition 1850 p. 480.

CAMBRIDGE Trinity.

61. 1850. *[Dos diálogos, 6. ed.; Diálogo del saco de Roma, 7. ed.]*

First leaf: Diálogos. | *Second leaf:* Dos diálogos | escritos | por Juan de Valdés, | ahora cuidadosamente reimpresos. | "Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis." | [— Dan. Roger. Epigr. in tum. Juelli. | Humphr. Vita Juel. 4to. 1573] | Año de 1850. |

S. l. Octavo. On the back of the second title a passage on Juan de Valdés from a letter of Bonfadio. P. V—XIII introduction of the editor, who does not name himself, but who is known to be Luis Usóz i Rio (see above here p. 46). P. XVI old title of the Diálogo de Mercurio i Caron. *P. XVIII—XX* Prohemio al lector. *P. 1—323 text. P. 325 title of the dialogue on the sack of Rome, from the edition of 1586. P. 326 previous notice from the same edition. P. 227—9 author's preface. P. 330* Argumento. *P. 331—481 text. P. 483* Animas, ó almas, que intervienen en el Diálogo de Mercurio i Caron. *P. 484* Fé de erratas.

The volume was afterwards reckoned as the fourth of the Reformistas antiguos Espãnoles.

Table of various readings in different editions of the Dos diálogos.

Mercurio.

1		2		4		5		6	
On the title	MDXXViij.		MDXXiij.		MDXXiij.		M. D. XXiij.		MDXXVIII.
C I	y el venecianos	22	y el Venecianos	C VI	y el Venecianos	C III	y el Venecianos	67	i el Venecianos *Cf. pref. VII. Canc.*
C IV	el ynfante	25	en ynfante	D I	en ynfante	C V	en ynfante	p. 78	el Infante
C VI	platiado	28	platiado	D IV	platiado	C VII	platiado	86	platicado
F IV	ninos: a faco	57	Ninos: a Faco	H I	Ninos: a Faco	F VII	Ninos: a Faco	197	Minos, á E
G IV	:mas *is the last word of the last line, a full line, of the first page, the next page beginning:* Aprende decoro: la doctrina christiana:	67	:mas *is the last word of a full line; the next line on the same page having the words* Aprende decoro: la doctrina christiana:	J III	:mas *is the last word of a line in which room for an n is left, the next line on the same page beginning* Aprende decoro: la doctrina: *the word* christiana *being omitted.*	G VIII	:mas. *With full stop, the greatest part of the line after the stop being left open. The next line on the same page begins* Aprende decoro: la doctrina; *the word* christiana *being left out.*	228	;mas *with series of st indicating hiatus at end of the pa* 229 *begins:* Aprende de ro la doctr christiana,
G VI	parte dalas	69	par- | tcda las	J V	parte da las	H I	parte da las	235	parte de
—	Dererminate	—	Determinate	—	Determinate	—	Determinate	—	Determínate
—	incorcupto	—	incorcupto	J VI	incorcupto	H II	incorcupto	238	incorrupto
G VIII	esse, *but the second s being injured (in both copies), it easily might be read* t.	71	esse	J VIII	esse	H IV	esse	245	ese, *note:* ó e
H VII	che	81	che	L I	che	J IV	che	277	que
J II	sangue	84	sangue	L V	sangue	J VII	sangue	290	sang*ue*
J VIII	uiños	93	viños	M VI	viños	K VII	viños	341	niños
	desde calabrarse	—	desde calabrarse	—	desde calabrarse	—	desde calabrarse		de desca brarse
	o lisiarse	—	o lisiarse	—	o lifiarse	—	o lifiarse		ó lisiarse

Lactancio.

								6	7 [= 6 *of both*
ı iij	fruir	3	fruir	a III	fruir	A III	fruir	sufrir	335 fruir
—	paresce	4	paresce	a IV	paresce	A III	paresde		—,5 *a. i.* paresz
)	Borbon	12	Barbon	b IV	Barbon	B II	Barbon		365 Borbon
) ij	buenas	13	buenas	b V	buenas	B III	duenas		369,4 buenas
) iij	hecho	—	hecho	b VI	hecho	—	heco		370,6 *a. i.* hecho
—	pudiesse	—	pudiesse	—	pudiesse	B IV	dudiese		371,14 pudiese
—	de	—	de	—	de	—	des		—,16 de
—	mando	14	mando	—	mādo	—	mand		372,4 mandó
—	atadas	—	aladas	—	aladas	—	alades		—,15 atadas
) iiij	es	15	es	b VII	en	B V	en		376,2 es
—	ha	—	has	—	has	—	has		377,14 ha
) V	dineros	16	dineron	b VIII	dineron	—	dineron		379,5 *a. i.* dinero
—	Seque	—	Segue	—	Segue	B VI	Segue		381,1 Sé que
—	mouiades	—	mouiades	—	mouiades	—	mouiades		—,3 moviérades
—	Por cierto	17	por cierto	c I	por por cierto	—	por por cierto		383,7 Por cierto
l X	mandaredes	43	mandaderes	f IV	mandaderes	E IV	mandaderes		480,4 *a.i.* mandare

This table, taken together with the foregoing descriptions, shows the reasons for my chronological arrangement of the different editions. It appears that the original edition has been simply reprinted without intentional changements until the Paris editor of 1586 introduced some alterations; it is an exception, when even such manifest misprints as dererminate *are corrected, generally even such mistakes as* incorcupto *are repeated through all editions.*

62. 1546. *[Due dialoghi, 1. ed.]*

Dve dialoghi, | l'vno di Mercvrio, et Caronte: | nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, | et di bona dottrina, si racconta quel, che | accadè nella guerra dopò l'anno, | MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno | archidiacono: | nel quale puntalmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Roma nell' anno | MDXXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta ac- | curatezza et tradotti, et reuisti. | MDXLVI | Con gratia, et privilegio, | per anni dieci. |

The three lines with the dates and the last line are crooked. Lines 3. 4. 5. 9. 10. 12. 13. in Italics, the rest Roman.

Octavo. Leaves numbered, not pages.

After the title leaf fol. 2 Allo illvstre signor Virgilio Caracciolo. *Ends fol. 3, second page:* Di Vinegia, il . XX. di Nouembre, MDXLV. Di . V. S. Affettionato seruitore Gioan Antonio di Padoua. *The two leaves in Roman letters, the* Prologo *of the author and the whole book in Italics. Folio 120 blank, without number. The second dialogue begins fol. 121 (unnumbered), ends fol. 183. The last leaf blank, without number. Signature* A *to* Z *(without J U W). Total, title included, 184 leaves.*

Mistakes in the numbers of the leaves: 50 *instead of 58, —* 52 *instead of 61, —* 54 *instead of 62, —* 56 *instead of 64.*

Folio 121, line 11: sopra q̃l, che

Registered, at the bottom of the page, throughout with these numbers in Italics ij, iij, iiij.

Fol. 5 under the Prologo *of the author is found the following notice:* A car. 26. à ver. 11. à fac. prima doue dice in Rhene, leggasi, in pegno: ouero, per ostaggi. gli altri errori si rimettono al giudicio di chi legge. *The words on fol. 26 run thus:* lasciasse in Hispagna in Rehene i duo suoi figliuoli maggiori. *In the original we read (ed. of 1850, p. 55):* dejase en España sus dos hijos mayores en rehenes. *I think the editions, in which the Spanish word is replaced by the translation, to be later. N° 65 (in my possession) has fol. 26* per hostaggi, *N° 67 fol. 20, and N° 68 (latest edition) fol. 24 have* ostaggi.

BERLIN Royal, ULM City (in this copy, a small part of the text in the first ten leaves is destroyed by water). I have had both copies in my hand at the same time.

63. 154.. *[Due dialoghi, 2. ed.]*

Dve Dialoghi. | L'vno di Mercurio, et Caronte: | nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, | et di buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che |

accadè nella guerra dopo l'anno, MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et | di vno Archidiacono: | nel quale puntalmente si trattano le | cose auenute in Roma nell' anno | M. D. XXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta accuratezza et tradotti, et reuisti, | In Vinegia | Con gratia, et priuilegio, | per anni dieci. | *Italic letter. Small Octavo. A to Z 183 leaves, so numbered.*

Wiffen's title-copy and description. I suppose the collation copy to have been that of the BRITISH MUSEUM, signed 1070 K, *which I could not get, when I asked for it. For Wiffen's notices to be quoted on the editions of the* Due dialoghi *I must remark, that he numbers as third edition what I consider to be the second, as second my third one, as first my fourth one, my first not being known to him. He says on this his n° 3:*

„The dedication is signed not Il Clario, *but* Gioan Antonio di Padoua. *It has the same initial letter as n° 2, and the same text, page for page, but differs in the divided words at the ends of the lines; the slips of the type vary; at fo. 121, line 11, is* sopra q^{u}l che, *in n° 2* sopra quel, *and* che *in the twelfth line; n° 1 has* sopra quel *in the twelfth line, and* che *in the thirteenth. N^{os} 2 and 3 are numbered at folio 121, n° 1 is not numbered there. This edition agrees with n° 2 in the title, the initial letters and the register; it differs in the division of words at the end of the lines in most pages.“*

64. 154.. *[Due dialoghi, 3. ed.]*

Dve dialoghi. | L'vno di Mercvrio, et Caronte: | nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, | et di buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che | accadè nella guerra dopò l'anno, | MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno | archidiacono: | nel quale puntalmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Rome nell' anno | MDXXVII. Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta ac- | curatezza et tradotti, et reuisti. | In Vinegia. | Con gratia, et privilegio, | per anni dieci. | *The dedication* Allo illvstre signor Virgi- | lio Caracciolo | *is signed* MDXLV... Il Clario. *183 leaves.*

Wiffen notices: „So numbered, but should be 184. A *to* Z *in eights. Small octavo. Italic letter.“ The title is in a heavier letter than n° 1, the spacing of the lines different, different initial letters and catchwords to the dedication, being the same as n° 3. The body of the work agrees page for page with n° 1, but all the initial letters are different; the type is more regular and has not the slips of n° 1. Folio 121 is numbered. It is registered throughout iij, not iii as in part of n° 1. This edition and n° 3 appear to have issued from the same press, but are clearly different editions.“*

BRITISH MUSEUM, Grenville Collection n° 10, 130.

Il Clario *at that time could not but mean Isidore Clario, the learned monk, who was, by Paul III, made bishop of Foligno, in January 1547, and member of the Tridentine Council; he died in 1555. No doubt the publisher of the* Due dialoghi *abused his name.*

65. 154.. *[Due dialoghi, 4. ed.]*

Dve dialoghi. | L'vno di Mercurio, et Caronte: | nel quale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, | et di buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che | accadè nella guerra dopò l'anno, | MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno | Archidiacono: | nel quale puntalmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Roma nell' anno | MDXXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta accu | ratezza et tradotti et reuisti. | In Vinegia. | Con gratia, et priuilegio, | per anni dieci. |

Line 5 the apostrophe above l *instead of after it, the accent above the* o *very faint. On the whole Italic letter. Lines 1. 2. 6—8. 11. 14—16. of the title, the dedication (excluding the first line), and some lines, words and letters of the text in Roman letters. Octavo.* A *to* Z *(without J U and W).* 184 *leaves, title included. Fol. 21 misnumbered:* 22, *which number occurs a second time in its proper place; fol. 74 misnumbered:* 47; *fol. 116 misn.:* 119; *fol. 150 the 0 is lost in my copy as well as in that of Munich; 152 misn.:* 252; *153 misn.:* 145; *160 misn.:* 260; *161 foll. larger numbers than before; fol. 120 between the two dialogues is blank and as well as 121 unnumbered; also 184 blank and unnumbered. Fol. 2. 3. dedication* Allo illvstre signor Virgilio Caracciolo. *signed:* Di Vinegia, il . XX. di Nouembre. M. D. XLV. Di V. S. Affettionato seruitore. Il Clario. *Only the subscription differs from ed. 1, the text of the dedication is the same here as there.*

MUNICH Royal. COIRE Cantonal. BOEHMER's libr.

65ᵇ.

In B. B. WIFFEN's copy of this edition the dedication is suppressed, the first sheet being reprinted with pages having fewer lines in order to occupy the same number of leaves; the title runs thus:

Dve dialoghi | l'vno di Mercvrio et Caronte: | Nel quale molte cose belle gratiose, | & di buona dottrina si raccō | ta quel che accade nella | guerra dopo l'anno. | M. D. XXI. | L'altro di Latantio et | l'archidiacono. | Nel quale puntalmente si trattano le | cose auuenute in Roma nell' āno | M. D. XXVII. | Di spagnuolo in Italiano, con molta | accuratezza tradotti & reuisti. | Con gratia et privilegio. | Per anni dieci |

66. 154.. *[Due dialoghi, 5. ed.]*

Dve dialoghi, | L'vno di Mercvrio et Caronte: | Nelquale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, & di buona dottrina, si raconta quel, che | accade nella guerra dopò l'anno, | MDXXI. | L'altro di Lattantio et di | vno archidiacono: | Nel quale puntalmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Roma nell' anno, | MDXXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano

con molta accu- | ratezza et tradotti, et reuisti. | In Vinegia. | Con gratia et privilegio | per anni dieci |

Octavo. Wiffen says: „Folios 148, numbered consecutively, including the title. The dedication of the former editions is omitted, the author's Prologo *begins on the verso of the title, 3 pages. The whole is in Italic letter. The second book of the* Dialogo Mercurio *begins on the verso of folio 58, and ends on the verso of folio 96," just as in the sixth edition (n° 67). „The first leaf of register F is registered* E *in mistake," as is done also in the sixth edition.*

WIFFEN's libr.

My title copy from a copy in the PARIS National library agrees with this one, only, by accident, I am not sure whether I made a stroke after privilegio. *I noticed from the Paris copy: Octavo. Leaves, including title, 148, numbered. On the verso of the title leaf:* Prologo. La principal cagione ...; *ends fol.* 2 *verso:* tutta la religion christiana. *No subscription, no name. Fol.* 3: Mercurio. Risuegliati.

67. 154.. *[Due dialoghi, 6. ed.]*

Dve | dialoghi *[on each side of the word* dialoghi *an ornamental leaf]* | lvno di Mercvrio et Caronte. | Nelquale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose, & di | buona dottrina si raconta quel, che accade | nella guerra dopo lanno. M. D. XXI. | Laltro di Lattantio et di | vno archidiacono. | Nelquale puntalmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Roma nellano. | M. D. XXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta acutezza | & tradotti, & reuisti, | in Vinegia | con gratia et privilegio | per anni dieci. |

Without year. 148 folios numbered, title (without number) included. The whole text in Italics. No translator's preface. The prologo *begins on the back of the title-leaf, and occupies three pages. By mistake the first leaf of sheet* F *is registered* E, *as I observed at least in the Munich copy and in the Zurich one.*

Wiffen says: „Although this edition agrees with the description of n° 4, even to the catchwords at the ends of the sheets, it differs so much in the division of the broken words at the ends of the lines and in so many instances, that it must necessarily be a different edition from n° 4, yet it is a very close reprint of it."

Characteristic of this edition is acutezza *instead of* accuratezza.

MUNICH Royal, ZURICH City, BODLEIAN. Cf. my Cenni *p. 489 f.*

68. 15... *[Due dialoghi, 7. ed.]*

Dve | Dialoghi. | L'vno di Mercvrio, et Caronte, | Nelquale, oltre molte cose belle, gratiose: & di | buona dottrina, si racconta quel, che | accadè nella guerra dopò l'anno, | M. D. XXI. | L'altro di Lattantio, et di vno | archidiacono: | Nel quale puntualmente si trattano le cose | auenute in Roma nell' anno, | M. D. XXVII. | Di Spagnuolo in Italiano con molta accuratezza | tradotti, & reuist. | *These last two lines in Italics.*

S. l. e. a. Octavo. It has 180 numbered leaves, including title. The Prologo *begins on the back of the title-leaf, the first dialogue with fol.* 3, *the second with fol. 119. The last four leaves have narrower spaces.*

Characteristic of this title is the puntualmente *instead of the* puntalmente *of the other editions. Wiffen says: „This edition differs from all the preceding, having the* Prologo *of the author in Italics, and the text in Roman letter; all the preceding having the text in Italic letter. I suppose this to be the latest edition. The first three editions have the dedication, the last three have omitted it.“ Editions 1—4 have the dedication, 4ª. 5. 6. 7 have omitted it.*

BERLIN Royal, MUNICH (the copy is injured by worms; in the first nine leaves some words and lines are wanting, on the title the first word). WIFFEN's libr.

The title-copy of the Due dialoghi *in the* Catalogvs bibliothecae Bvnavianae, Tomvs III, vol. I, Lipsiae CIↃIↃCCLV *[Halle Univ.] p.* 1287, *and that in Carlo Milanesi's collection:* Il sacco di Roma del MDXXVII, Firenze, Barbera, 1867, *p.* XXXVIII *appear to have been taken from copies of this edition* (puntualmente, *no* et *before* tradotti). *Milanesi says p.* XXXVIII *and* XXXIX*:* Non ha data di luogo nè d'anno, ma forse è stampa degli ultimi del sec. XVI o de' primi del seguente. È in – 8 piccolo, numerato a carte, che sono 180. Il 2° dialogo si contiene da carte 119 a 180.

Vicente Salvá in A catalogue of spanish and portuguese books, London 1829, *[Halle Univ. libr.], p. 67 has both dialogues in Spanish and in Italian; also in his* Catálogo de los libros antiguos ó escasos, Castellanos . . ., Paris 1836, *[in my possession], p. 32, nº 432, each dialogue in both languages. The editions cannot be identified from his insufficient notices; but, as they were* s. a. n. l., *the dated Italian edition (my nº* **62**) *was not among them, was the Italian copy, mentioned in the London catalogue, the* acutezza-*edition (my nº* **67**). *The price asked for the two dialogues in both languages was in the London catalogue £ 4, in the Paris catalogue* 40 fr.

69. 1590.

The sacke | of Roome, | Exsequuted by the Emperour Charles | armie euen at the Natiuitie of this Spanish | kinge Philip, | notablie described in a | Spanish Dialogue, with all the Horrible | accidents of this Sacke, and abhomina- | ble sinnes, superstitions & diseases | of that Cittie, which prouoked | these iust iudgements | of God. Translated latelie into the English | tounge, neuer fitter to bee read nor | deeplier considered, then euen | now at this present | time. | *[Ornament]* | London | Printed by Abell Jeffes | for Roger Ward | 1590.

Title-copy by Wiffen, who adds: „Quarto. Black Letter. Not numbered. Registered A *to* K 3 *in the fours. This translation appears to have been made from the Paris edition 1586 of the Spanish; for there is the omission respecting the worship of relics at p. H 4 ᵇ, and a small addition at the end of the Dialogue, taken from Cipriano de Valera's* Dos tratados.“

In the BRITISH MUSEUM according to Wiffen. WIFFEN's own copy is without the title-leaf.

70. 1860.

A summary with translations of passages of both dialogues into English in The life and times | of | Aonio Paleario. || By M. Young. ||[Volume I. | London: || 1860. || *Octavo. Pages 205—222.*

71. 1865.

Extracts in English from the Two dialogues in Wiffen's Life and writings of Juán de Valdés 1865, *p.* 52—75.

72. 1609.

Discovrs | Vber | Kayser Carolen des Fünfften | mit dem Khönig aus Franckreich | Francisco Valesio gehaltener Schlacht vor Pavien, | vnd was sich sonsten nach der Gefängnusz vnd erle- | digung Kônigs Francisci begeben: | In zwey Bûcher abgetheilt. | Vnter erzehlung dieser Geschichten kommen beyde, an | einem, als Charon, (wie man dichtet) ein hôllischer Schiffmann, wel- | cher die Seelen der verstorbenen über den hôllischen Flusz zu führen pflegt: vnd | anders theils Mercurius, der Gôtter Bott, zusammen: Diese vnterlassen biszweilen den | lauff der Histori, vnd befragen die verstorbenen Seelen, wie sie in jener Welt gehau- | set: Darauff allerseits sehr artig, vnparteyisch vnd hochvernünfftig, das menschlich | Leben gehandelt vnd dargestellt wirdt. | Beschrieben anfänglich durch einen erleuchten Hispanier, | vnd in Hispanischer Sprach auszgangen. | Anjetzo aber durch einen fürnehmen Herren, allen | Trewhertzigen zum besten, ins Hochteutsch | übergesetzt. | × | Amberg, | MDCIX.

Black and red. The words Discovrs, Charon, Mercurius, *and the year, in Roman letters.*

Colophon: Getruckt in der Churfürstlichen Statt Amberg, | durch Michael Forster. |

Quarto. Title-leaf and 178 pages. It contains the Spanish Author's preface p. 1—4, *and at the end on one page [178] a table of damned and blessed souls.*

GOTHA Ducal, WOLFENBÜTTEL, BOEHMER's libr.

Follow two other editions of the same translation:

73. 1613.

Discovrs | Vber | Kâyser Carolen desz Fünften mit | dem Kônig aus Frankreich Francisco | Valesio gehaltener Schlacht vor Pavien, vnd was | sich sonsten nach der Gefängnusz vnd erledigung | Kônigs Francisci begeben: | In zwey Bûcher abgetheilt. | Vnter erzehlung dieser geschichten kommen bey- | de, an einem, als Charon, (wie

man dichtet) ein hölli- | scher Schiffmann, welcher die Seelen der verstorbenen ůber | den hőllischen Flusz zu fůhren pflegt; vñ anders theils Mercurius, | der Gőtter Bott zusammen: Diese vnterlassen biszweilen | den lauff der Histori, vnd befragen die verstorbenen | Seelen, wie sie in jener welt gehauset: Dar- | auff allerseits sehr artig vnparteyisch vnd hoch- | vernůnfftig, das menschlich leben gehan- | delt vnd dargestellt wird. | Geschrieben anfänglich durch einen erleuchten | Hispanier, vnd in Hispanischer Sprach | auszgangen. | Anjetzo aber durch einen fürnemen Herrn, | allen Trewhertzigen zum besten, ins | Hochteutsch ůbergesetzt. | Amberg, | M. DC. XIII. | *Black and red. The same three words as in the first edition in Roman types, also the year. Octavo. After the title leaf:*

Vorrede | Desz Avctoris, *p. 1—5.* Discours *p. 6—276. Last leaf on what would be p. 277:* Verzeichnus der . . . | Seelen. *Subscription:* Gedruckt in der Churf. Statt Amberg, | bey Michael Forster. |

GOTHA Ducal.

74. 1643.

Dialogvs oder Ge- | spräche, | Vber | Kayser Carolen | desz Fůnfften, mit Francisco | Valesio Kőnigen zu Franckreich ge- | haltener Schlacht vor Pavia, vnd | was nach dessen Loszlassung sich | begeben. | In welchem Mercurius vnd Charon vnter- | schiedlichen Ständen Personen so respectivè | verdammet vnd selig worden, mit einge- | fůhret: | Månniglichen von hohen vnnd nidern Standt, | Geist- vnd Weltlichen, vmb trefflicher Lehren | willen nőhtig, nutzlich vnd lustig | zu lesen. | Vmb damalige Zeiten von einem gebornen Spa- | nier beschrieben, nachmals ins Hochteusche [*sic*] vbersetzet, | nunmehr aber denen, so weder Frieden noch Reforma- | tion finden kőnnen, zum besten in weitern | Truck befördert. | ✕ | Franckfurt, bey Matthaeo Merian, | Im Jahr 1643. | *The words:* Dialogvs, Mercurius, Charon, respectivè, *in Roman letters.*

Octavo. After title-leaf Vorrede desz Avctoris *p. 3—7.* Discours *p. 8—248. On what would be p. 249 the* Verzeichnusz *of the souls. No colophon.*

Prefixed is a print representing Charon and Mercury with souls walking down to them and with the prospect of others on the water and in the flames.

GOTHA Ducal. In WIFFEN's copy the print is wanting.

75. 1704.

Des Grossen Kåysers | Caroli V. | Regier- | Kunst, | oder | Väterliche Instruction, | Wie sein Sohn | Philippus II. | König in Spanien, |

wohl und glücklich regierern sollen. | Zu mehrerer Erleuterung, und Dien- | ste derer Hohen, besonders jungen Regen- | ten mit dienlichen Anmerckungen | heraus gegeben | von | Johann George Leib, D. | Sereniss. ac Potentiss. Polon. Reg. & Elect. | Saxon. Consil. & Ref. Judic. Thesaur. | Leipzig, 1714. | bey Johann Christian Martini, | in der Nicolai Strasse. |

Four leaves dedication to Friedrich Augusto dem Andern, Königlichen Pohlnischen wie auch des Chur-Fürstenthums Sachsen Erb- und Chur-Printzen. *Two leaves* An den Leser. *Then p. 1—121 text with the editor's annotations. Nine pages* Register, *on the ninth page some* Errata. *Small Octavo. Facing the title, a print representing the portrait of the Emperor Charles V.*

PONICKAU libr. and S. MARY's church libr., both at HALLE.

The editor says in the preface to the reader: Gegenwärtige Regier-Kunst hat zum Autorem dem grossen Carolum V. . . . Es verdienet also diese Schrifft bey aller Welt um so viel grössere Estime und Glauben; Dieweilen sie sowohl von einem in der That grossen Keyser, der das darinnen angewiesene solide Fundament, sich wahrhafftig zu aggrandiren, durch eigene Erfahrung bestärcket befunden, geschrieben, als auch aus einem liebreichen treuen Vater-Hertze, ohne Verhehlung seiner vormahls begangenen eigenen Fehler, zu seines Sohnes besserer Unterweisung, und, weil er ihme solche wenige Zeit vor seinem Tode übergeben, nach darzu gleichsam Testaments weise hergeflossen; Wie dann auch dieses kleine, aber seiner Würde nach sehr importante Werck durch und durch mit nichts als lauter klugen, weisen und heilsamen Lehren, die in allen die Prudentz und wahre Politique zum Grunde setzen, angefüllet ist. Mich hat also die Liebe zu dieser unvergleichlichen und sehr wichtigen Schrift ihrer Vortrefflichkeit wegen dergestalt eingenommen, dass ich nicht umgehen können, dieselbe mit einigen Anmerckungen zum gemeinen Dienste in gegenwärtiger Form zu ediren; Bevorab, da wir in einer solchen Zeit leben, in welcher der Freyheit Teutschlandes die täglich mehr zu, als abnehmende Macht Franckreichs immer gefährlicher anscheinen will, und man also zu deren besserer Conservation auff sein wahres Interesse zu dencken, so viel mehrere Ursache hat. Die ietzige Form aber hat mir um deswillen beliebet, dass, wie das Werck wegen seiner Kürtze um so viel mehr Lust giebt, es mit Vergnügen durch zu lesen, solches auch also mit desto wenigerer Beschwerde bey sich geführet werden könne. *At the end he says (p. 119 f.):* Sie [*this* Regier-Kunst] ist umb so vielmehr zu bewundern, dieweiln sie nicht alleine eine andere Rempublicam Platonicam gleichsam statuiret, sondern auch unter ihres Allerdurchlauchtigsten Verfassers glorieuseu Regierung in der That stabiliret, und mit einen solchen, als man nur davon wündschen können, glücklich ausgeführet hat. Sie hat darmit an Carolo V. selbsten der gantzen Welt bewiesen, wie weit ihr übergrosses Vermögen gehe. Es hat hierüber noch dieser unvergleichliche Keyser, wenn man dieselbe gegen seine Historie betrachtet, darinnen seine eigene Fehler mercklich verbessert, und diese Philippo II. gar ernstlich abgerathen. Sie hätte nicht weniger wegen ihrer allzugrossen Wichtigkeit eine weit geschicktere Feder, als die meinige, auch einen nicht minder Grossen und so erfahrnen Printzen, der die vom Carolo V. hierunter geführten Absichten viel besser ausführen können, zu ihren Commentatorem erfordert. . .

In the 42th note to this Regier-Kunst, *p. 62, he says:* Mit denen Worten: Dasz Philippus II nicht trachten solle sein Land in Auffnehmen zubringen, ist wohl

im Texte bey der Uebersetzung ein Irrthum vorgegangen, wie solches auch der Context selbsten gibt, und solchemnach vielmehr zu erweitern oder zuvergrössern heissen soll. *From this passage it is evident that Leib had not himself made the translation which he edited, and that he had not then access to the original.*

The fact is, that this Instruction, said to be directed by the Emperor Charles V, short time before his death, to his son King Philip II, is simply taken from what the soul of a deceased king tells in Juan Valdés' dialogue of Mercury and Charon, according to the German translation, printed three times in the 17th century. Leib's text is only a little modernized.

Probably this confession had, before Leib's publication, been printed as an instruction of the Emperor Charles V to his son.

The Regierkunst *begins with words corresponding to the passage* conosciendo cuán pernicioso es al Prínzipe, Dos diálogos *1850, p. 211, and runs, with omissions, to what is read ib. p. 240:* i te guiará en todo lo que debieres hazer, *including this sentence. In the German translation of 1609 the questionable passage, containing the words* in auffnemmen zu bringen, *is read p. 124, the Spanish has* ensanchar, *ed. 1850, p. 225.*

The so called Instruction of the Emperor Charles V to his son Philip II, published in French by Teissier in 1699, and reprinted in 1700, is entirely different from Leib's Regierkunst, *and has no connection with the Dialogue of Valdés.*

Juan de Valdés.

Joan. Valdesius *under the* Authores primae classis *in Pius' IV* Index prohibitorum, Dilingae 1564, *fol.* 28.

1. *Dialogue between Mercury and Charon*
   Spanish
   Italian
   German
   English, part of it.
   } *see above p. 101 f.*
2. *Dialogue on the Spanish language*
   Spanish 1737. 1860. 1873. Part of it 1865.
   English. Parts 1865.
3. *Christian Alphabet (Spanish original lost)*
   Italian 1546. 1860.
   Spanish 1861.
   English 1861. Parts 1865.
4. *The Christian's own book, a tract (Spanish original lost)*
   Italian 1546. 1854. 1860.
   Spanish 1861.
   English 1852. 1861. Part of it 1865.
5. *Commentary upon S. Paul's epistle to the Romans and first epistle to the Corinthians.*
   Spanish 1556—7. 1856.
   English. Parts 1865. Dedication to Giulia 1638. 1861. 1865. Parts 1860.

(John Betts, the translator of the Considerations, has completed in ms. an English translation of this commentary).

6. *Ordinance for preachers (Spanish original lost)*
Italian 1544 or 1545 (perhaps to be found again)
Five tracts, of which the first that Ordinance (Spanish original of all lost)
Italian 1545. 1870.
German 1870.
7. *Catechism (Spanish original lost)*
Italian about 1545
Latin 1554 (not discovered). 155 . . 1864. (1871 new title, naming J. Valdés as author)
German
first translation 1555.
second translation 1872.
Polish about 1555 (not discovered).
8. *Divine considerations (Spanish original lost)*
Italian 1550. 1860.
Spanish
first translation 1862
second translation 1855. 1863.
French 1563. (new title 1601). 1565.
Dutch 1565 (not discovered)
English
first translation 1638. 1646.
second translation 1865.
German 1869. One Consideration 1861.

[Diálogo de la lengua]

76. 1737.

Dialogo | de las lenguas. | Marcio, Valdes, | Coriolano, Torres.

This is contained on p. 1—178 of: Origenes | de la lengua Española, | compuestos | por varios autores, | recogidos | por don Gregorio | Mayáns i Siscár, | Bibliothecario del Rei | Nuestro Señor. | tomo II. | con licencia: | En Madrid, por Juan de Zuñiga, | Año 1737. | *Octavo. Compare on this dialogue also t. I, published in the same year.*

HALLE Univ.

The two volumes of Mayans' Origenes *were offered in Hartung's at Leipzig antiquarian* Verzeichniss 139 *of the year 1871 for 7 Thalers.*

The edition of 1860 has p. 140—141 the following note, relating to a passage on the word: cardenal: Lo que va entre [ ] lo suprimió Mayans en los ejemplares, para la venta jeneral: pero en otros ejemplares, probablemente de regalo, no lo suprimió. Luis de Usoz i Rio, tiene un ejemplar sin esta supresion.

77. 1860.

First title-leaf: Diálogo de la lengua. | Apéndize. | *On the verso a quotation from* Brozense.

Second title-leaf:

Diálogo de la lengua | (tenido ázia el A. 1533), | i | publicado por primera vez el año de 1737. | Ahora reimpreso conforme al MS. de

la Biblioteca Nazional, | único que el Editór conoze. | Por Apéndize va una Carta de A. Valdés. | „Qui sapientiæ et literarum | divortium faciunt, nunquam ad | solidam sapientiam pertingent. | Qui vero alios etiam á literarum | linguarumque studio absterrent, | non antiquæ sapientiæ | sed novæ | stultitiæ doctores sunt habendi.“ | Madrid: Año de 1860. | Imprenta de J. Martin Alegría. | Paseo del Obelisco, núm. 2, (Chamberí). |

Quarto. Two title-leafs; p. [V]—LIII *editor's introduction; p. [I]*—205 *text, p.* 206 *note, one leaf* erratas; Apéndize *p. [I]*—71 *letter of Alphonse Valdés with Baldassar Castiglione's answer.*

78. 1865.

Diálogo de la lengua escrito por Juan de Valdés hácia el año 1533 en Nápoles. | (reimpreso Madrid 1860) | Marcio. Valdés. Coriolano. Pacheco. |

Immediately under this head the text begins, and runs, without any annotations, on four pages, each divided in two columns, to p. 16 of the Madrid edition, concluding with the words: Si os quereis gobernar por mi, haremos d'esta manera . . . *At the bottom:* Halle, Druck der Waisenhaus-Buchdruckerei. *Without year. This piece was printed in 1865 by Dr. Boehmer as p. 5—8 of a quarto-sheet, destined to be privately given to students at the University beginning to learn Spanish. The other four pages contain grammatical paradigms and notices. There are some typographical errors in this extemporised print.*

HALLE Ponickau libr.

79. 1873.

Diálogo de las lenguas.

P. 1—148 *of* Orígenes | de la | lengua Española, | compuestos por varios autores, | recogidos | por d. Gregorio Mayans y Siscar, | bibliorecario del rey, | publicados por primera vez en 1737, | y reimpresos ahora por la sociedad „La Amistad Librera“, | con un prólogo | de d. Juan Eugenio Hartzenbusch, | y notas | al Diálogo de las lenguas y á los Orígenes de la lengua, de Mayans, por d. Eduardo de Mier. | Administracion, | Librería de Victoriano Suarez, | calle de Jacometrezo, número 72. | 1873. | *On the back of the title-leaf:* Madrid. — Imprenta y estereotipia de M. Rivadeneyra, | calle del Duque de Osuna, número 3. *Octavo.*

The passage on the Cardinals [*see here* nº **76**] *is fully printed. One leaf of the ms wanting as in both former editions. Apparently, the editors do not know anythiny about Usóz's edition of 1860.*

1865, parts in English, see nº 109.

[Alfabeto Christiano and the Christian's own book]

In Pius' IV. Index prohibitorum, Dillingae 1564, *fol. 14 amongst* Libri ab incerti nominis authoribus compositi: Alphabetum Christianum.

80. 1546.

Alphabeto | Christiano, | che insegna la vera | via d'acqvistare | il lvme dello spi- | rito santo. | *[Ornamental leaf]* Stampata con gratia & priuilegio. | l'Anno M. D. XLVI. | *s. l., probably Venice. Octavo.*

On the back of the title-leaf a dedication Alla illvstriss. signora la S. Donna Giulia Gonzaga sua padrona Marco Antonio Magno.

Folio 2 *and* 3 *author's address:* Alla illvstrissima signora la s. donna Givlia Gonzaga. *The work, fol.* 4—69. *Index fol.* 69. 70.

Fol. 71: Del medesmo | avtore. | In che maniera il Chri- | stiano hà da studiare nel suo proprio libro, | et che frutto hà da trahere dello stu- | dio, et come la santa scrittura | gli serue per interprete, | o commentario. | *Ends fol.* 76 *recto.*

The only copy now known was discovered by B. B. Wiffen, who gave it to Luis USÓZ I RIO.

The above description has been given according to the reprint, see n° 82. *The* Facsimile of the ancient title *given with the English translation, see n°* 82, *differs a little from the reproduction before the Italian reprint, this one having* et, *the facsimile* &; *both have* stampata, *not* —to.

81. 1854.

In che maniera il Cristiano ha da studiare nèl suo proprio libro, e che frutto ha da trarre dallo studio, e come la santa Scrittura gli serve per interpetre e commentario.

Reprinted by B. B. Wiffen in the Eco di Savonarola. Anno VIII, *September and October, num. 9 and 10.* Londra 1854. *pages 140—142 and 149—151.*

82. 1860. 1861.

Alfabeto Christiano | scritto in lingua Spagnuola | per Giovanni di Valdes. | E dallo stesso manoscritto autografo recato nell' Italiano | per Marco Antonio Magno. | Ora ristampata fedelmente la versione Italiana | pagina per pagina, | con l'aggiunta di due traduzioni, | l'una in Castigliano, l'altra in Inglese. | „Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis." | *[Ornamental leaf]* | Londra. L'anno MDCCCLX. | (Non pubblicato).

Octavo. After the title-leaf, on the back of which are two quotations, follows fol. [1]—76 *the reprint of the edition of 1546. At the end two leaves errata.*

Edited by B. B. Wiffen.

Alfabeto Cristiano | de | Juan de Valdés. | Reimpresión fiel del traslado Italiano: | añádense ahora dos traducciones modernas, | una en Castellano, otra en Inglés. | „Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis.“ | *[Ornamental leaf]* | Londres. Año de MDCCCLXI. | *On the back quotations. Octavo. Preface, signed:* Luis de Usóz i Rio, *p. [III]*—VIII. *Old title and prefaces p. [IX]*—XV. *The work with the appended treatise of Valdés p.* [1]—192.

Alfabeto | Christiano, | which teaches the true way | to acquire the light of the holy spirit. | *[Ornamental leaf]* | Printed | with permission and privilege, | in the year M. D. XLVI. | *Pages* [3]—212 *(including this title and the author's appended treatise which begins p.* 199). *In one volume with the following general title and other contents:*

Fore-title: Alfabeto Christiano. *Title:* Alfabeto Christiano | by | Juan de Valdés. | A faithful reprint of the Italian of 1546: | with two modern translations, | in Spanish and in English. | „Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis.“ | *[Ornamental leaf]* | London. MDCCCLXI. | *On the back, besides quotations, the notice:* (Not published: only 150 copies printed, and 20 on large paper.). *Octavo. A memoir, directed to Luis de Usóz i Rio, on Juan Valdés and Giulia Gonzaga, p.* V—LXXXIII, *besides two leaves facsimile from the Hamburg ms. of Valdés' Considerations. Follows the ancient Italian title page; reverse blank. Then the English translation p.* [3]—212. *Appendix and Index p.* 212—246, *containing also p.* 216—229 *Ferrar's English translation, revised by Wiffen, of Valdés' epistle to Giulia Gonzaga, dedicatory of the commentary on the Romans.*

Prefixed series-title: Reformistas antiguos | españoles. | Tomo XV. | *On the back list of* Obras ya reimpresas. *Number* 15: Alfabeto Christiano. Italiano, Español e Inglés. *With the notice for this number:* Se han impreso, i no para venta pública, solos 150 ejemplares; i 20 en papel de marca.

83. 1852.

Wiffen inserted an English translation of the Christian's own book, in the British Friend, *9th month* 1852, *Glasgow. I have not seen this.*

1865, *parts in English, see n°* **109.**

[Commentary

upon S. Paul's epistle to the Romans and first epistle to the Corinthians] Prohibited, see Cenni *p. 525.*

84. 1556.

Comenta- | rio, o declaracion | breve, y compendiosa so | bre la Epistola de S. Paulo Apostol | a los Romanos, muy saluda- | ble para todo Christiano. | Compvesto por Jvan | Valdesio pio, y sincero Theologo. | *[Device, a large* Y, *the branches present, the narrow, the way to eternal life, the broad, that to destruction, with the words:* Estrecho el camino dela vida, | y es ancho el dela perdicion.] | El evangelio es potencia de |

Dios para dar salud a todo creyente. | Rom. 1. | En Venecia, en casa de | Juan Philadelpho. | M. D. LVI. |

Octavo, 340 pages, including title. Title, Dedication A la illvstrissima senora la senora dona Jvlia de Gonzaga *p.* 3—13, Al lector *(by Juan Perez)* p. 14—26; *the work p.* 27 *follow.*

The printer is Jean Crespin at Geneva, see Wiffen in Reformistas Españoles *XVIII, p. 42.*

WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal, HALLE Orphanhouse, BOEHMER. Cf. my Cenny *p. 524.*

A copy of this edition was offered by Tross in Paris in his Catalogue des livres anciens, année 1868, n° 3, *for one hundred francs. In the same year Asher in Berlin, in his Catalogue* LXXXV. *n°* 1072 *and* 1073 *offered two copies, one for fifty thalers, another one, with less margin, for thirty two thalers.*

85. 1557.

Comenta- | rio o declaracion fa- | miliar, y compendiosa sobre | la primera Epistola de san Paulo Apo- | stol alos Corinthios, muy vtil para | todos los amadores dela | piedad Christiana. | Compvesto por Jvan | VV. pio y sincero Theologo. | *[Device, a large* Y, *the branches present the narrow, the way to eternal life, the broad that to destruction, with the words on the right and the left side, beginning at the right side and running upwards, the continuation running downwards:* Estrecho el camino de la vida, | y es ancho el de la perdicion. |] La declaracion de tvs pala- | bras alumbra, y da entendimiento alos pe- | queñitos. Psalmo. 119. | En Venecia en casa de | Juan Philadelpho. | M. D. LVII. |

Octavo, p. 1—450, including title.

„The same reasons which prove the former commentary, printed at Geneva, apply equally to this.“ Wiffen.

WOLFENBÜTTEL Ducal, FRANKFURT o. M. City., BODLEIAN. Cf. my Cenni *p.* 524.

86. 1856.

La epistola | de San Pablo a los Romanos, | i la I. a los Corintios. | Ambas traduzidas i comentadas por Juan de Valdés. | Ahora fielmente reimpresas. | Valdessio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis. | (Dan . Roger . Epigr . in tum . Juelli . Humphr . | Vita Juel cto. 1573.) | Año de 1856. |

S. l. Octavo. XXX p. + 4 p. not *numbered, +* 305 *pages, and (Corinthians)* XIX *pages, +* 3 *p. not numbered, +* 317 *p., +* 3 *p. not numbered, and* 60 *p. of notes, total* 741 *pages.*

First title-leaf: Reformistas antiguos Españoles. | Tomos X i XI.

87. 1860.

The beginning of the dedicatory letter to Giulia Gonzaga of the commentary of the epistle to the Romans is reprinted from the edition of 1856, with an Eng-

lish translation, in The life and times of Aonio Paleario. By M. Young. Volume I. London 1860. *Pages 551—2. It ends with line 16 of p. VIII of the 1856 edition.*

1638. 1861. 1865, *parts in English, see n*^{os} **107. 82. 109.**

[Five tracts]

88. 154.

Modo di tener nell' insegnare et nel predicare al principio della religione Christiana.

Prohibited in the Index of 1549, and in Pius' IV Index of 1564.

Edition di XIII carte, *i. e. 13 leaves,* in ottavo, *known by Vergerio, and appearing to be different from the Roman edition of 1545, and most likely earlier, 1545 or 1544. Compare above p. 71, my edition* (*n*° **90**) *p. IV, my* Cenni *p. 529.*

89. 1545.

Modo che si | dee tenere ne l'in- | segnare, & predicare il | principio della reli- | gione Christiana. | [*Woodcut representing the good shepherd with a sheep in his arm*] | In Roma. | M. D. XXXXV. | *Octavo.*

Contains five treatises

Della peniten- | za Christiana. *Beginning fol.* A II
Della givstificatione „ B VI *verso*
Della medesima | Giustificatione. „ C III *verso*
Che la vita eterna | e Dono di Dio per Jesu Chri- | sto Nostro Signore. *Beginning fol.* D I
Se al Christiano | conuiene dubitare ch' egli sia in gra- | tia di Dio & se ha da temere il di | del Giudicio & se e bene es- | sere certo de l'vno & | amare l'altro *Beginning fol.* D IIII *verso.*

The book ends fol. E IV *verso. No paging nor foliation besides the signature. The text of each of the five treatises begins with a fine initial in frame.*

FRANKFURT o. M, City library. No other copy is known to exist.

90. 1870.

Sul | Principio della dottrina Cristiana. | Cinque trattatelli evangelici | di | Giovanni Valdesso, | ristampati | dall' edizione Romana del 1545. | Halle sulla Sala | Georg Schwabe. | 1870. |

Small Octavo. P. III—VIII preface, signed Halle, gennaio 1870. Eduard Boehmer. *Then on a separate leaf a facsimile of the old title-page, but without the wood-cut. Text p. 1—79.*

91. 1870.

Juan de Valdés | über | die christlichen Grundlehren. Fünf evangelische Tractate, | gedruckt zu Rom 1545, | jetzt zuerst ins Deutsche übersetzt. | Halle a. S. | Verlag von Georg Schwabe. | 1870. |

Octavo. On the second leaf a Vorwort, *dated January 1870, by Ed. Boehmer, who has also revised the translation, made by his wife. The Treatises p. 1—84.*

[Catechism]

Prohibited in the Index of 1549.

Catechismus, cui titulus, Qual maniera *prohibited amongst* Authorum incerti nominis libri *in Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 17. And fol. 33 in the like rubric most probably the same book is meant under the title* Maniera di tener ad insegnare i figlioli Christiani.

92. 154..

In qual maniera si doverebbono instituire i figliuoli de Christiani.

According to Vergerio, di un foglio, *i. e. one sheet. See my* Cenni *p. 530. — I think this treatise of Valdés was transformed by Vergerio into his* Lac spirituale. *See above p. 71.*

93. 1554.

Illustri atque optimae spei Puero D. Eberhardo, Illustrissimi Principis et Domini Domini Christophori Ducis, Wirtembergensis &c. filio primogenito Munusculum Vergerii exulis Jesu Christi. A. M. D. LIIII. in 8.

This is the notice which Schelhorn gives of the book, of which he had then a copy at hand, Amoenitat. literar. *t. 12. 1730. p. 620—21. I repeat, the year is 1554. Niceron,* Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des hommes illustres dans la république des lettres, *t. 38, Paris 1737, p. 78, has the following paragraph:* Illustri atque optimae spei Puero D. Eberhardo, Illustris. Principis Christophori, Ducis Wirtembergensis, filio primogenito Munusculum Vergerii exulis Jesu Christi. Anno 1554. in 8°. C'est une traduction d'un Ouvrage Espagnol de Jean Valdes sur l'instruction des enfans, que Coelius Secundus Curion dans une Lettre écrite a Jean de Lasco, datée du 1. Novembre 1558. et inserée dans le Recueil de Simon Abbes Gabbema, dit que Vergerio a voulu faire passer pour son Ouvrage, ajoutant qu'après l'avoir dedié au fils du Duc de Wirtemberg, il en changea le titre dans un voyage qu'il fit en Pologne, et le dedia comme quelque chose de nouveau au fils du Duc d'Olika. Il se trompe cependant, quand il dit qu'il l'offrit au premier sous le titre de Lac spirituale.

Petrus Paulus Vergerius *figures among the* Authores primae classis *in Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 35, cf. 39.*

The pamphlet, so much searched for, appeared at last in the LV. Catalog des antiquar. Bücherlagers von Fidelis Butsch in Augsburg, Januar 1868, *p. 21, n. 425. I telegraphed to Mr. Butsch, in order to get the book, but it was sold, nor could I learn, to whom. The title-copy in the catalogue is somewhat abbreviated; the description says:* 8 ff. 8. S. l. 554.

94. 155..

Lac spiritvale, | pro alendis ac edvcan- | dis Christianorum pueris ad | gloriam Dei. | Mvnvscvlvm Vergerii. | Illustrissimo Domino Nicolao, Illu- | strissimi Principis D. Nicolai Radiuili | Dvcis Olicae ac Nesuuisi. Palatini Vil | nensis, &c. Primogenito. | Adiecta svnt. | Prima

Christianae religionis elementa, Latinis, Græcis, | Germanicis & Polonicis carminibus reddita, | per | Andream Tricesivm | equitem Polonum, & | Mathiam Stoivm Regio- | montanum, Philosophiæ & Medicinæ Doctorem. | Item Hymni quotidiani. | II. Timoth. III. | Persistito in his quæ didicisti, & quæ tibi concredita sunt, sciens à | quo didiceris, & quòd à puero sacras literas noueris, quæ te | possunt eruditum reddere, ad salutem quæ est | in Christo Jesv. | *Octavo.*

On the back of the title-leaf Tricesii dodecastichon.

A ij Lac spirituale — *b iij.*

Under Amen *is read*: Ex Italico, Versus est etiam Germanice | & Polonice. | Excudebat Joannes Daubman | nus Regiomonti Borussiæ.

WOLFENBÜTTEL.

95. 1864.

Lac spirituale. | Institutio | puerorum Christianorum | Vergeriana. | Edidit | F. Koldewey. | Brunsvigae | sumptibus Alfredi Bruhn. | MDCCCLXIV. | *Octavo. 32 pages, including title. Text of the Lac p. 7—17. Observations by the editor and Dr. Eduard Boehmer,* p. 19 foll.

HALLE Ponickau libr.

95ᵇ. 1871.

Lac Spirituale. | Johannis de Valdés | institutio puerorum christiana | edidit | Fridericus Koldewey. | Accedit epistola Eduardi Boehmer ad editorem data | de libri scriptore. | Editio altera. | Halis, | Sumptibus G. Aemilii Barthel. | MDCCCLXXI. |

Besides this title-leaf, and a second leaf with a Praefatio *of Koldewey (wherein also some typographical errors, especially of Boehmer's epistle, are corrected), it is the identical edition of 1864, not a new print.*

HALLE Ponickau.

96. 1555.

Ein Edel | Schrifftlich Kleinath vnnd | Verehrung des Ehrwürdigen | Herrn Petri Pauli Vergerii, An des | Durchleüchtigen Hochgebornen Für- | sten vnd Herrn, Herrn Christoffs Her- | tzogen zů Würtemberg, ꝛc. erstgebor- | nen Son, Hern Eberhartum, lateinisch | geschriben: Dieser zeit aber zů nutz vnd | wolfarth aller Christlichen lieben | Jugendt ins Teütsch ge- | bracht. | 2. Timoth. 3. | Weil du von kind auff die heilige | Schrifft weissest, kan dich die selbig vn- | derweisen zůr seligkeit durch den Glau- | ben an Christum Jesum. | Tübingen | Anno D. M. LV. *[sic]*

In red the words Ein Edel, *then* Herrn Petri *inclus. to* Eberhartum *inclus., moreorer* 2. Timoth. 3 *and* Tübingen.

A I (title) to C 4. No numeration of pages or leaves.

Behind the title follows: Dem ehrwürdigen, Hochgelerten Herrn, Hieronymo Gerharto, beider Rechten Doctorn, vnd fürstlichen Würtembergischen Rhat vnd Dienern. . *Six pages dedication by the translator, with the subscription:* Dettingen Schloszberg, den 22. Augusti. Anno ꝛc. 55. E. E. Dienstwilliger M. Bartholomeus Hagen Pfarher zů Dettingen.

Then: Vergerii Vorrede. Weil ich durch tägliche vnd langwirige erfarung weisz, das dem menschlichen Geschlecht von seiner art vnnd natur disz laster angeborn ist. *Ends on the second page with the words:* zů zeitlichem verderben vnd ewigen verdamnusz raichen würt.

The work itself 27 *pages. Begins:* Erstlichs soll die Jugendt vor allen dingen wissen. *Ends:* wo er in der heilgen Schrifft etwas liset oder hört lesen.

At the end on two pages: Vermanung an alle Christliche Eltern. Ends: wölchem sei glori, ehr vnd herlicheit in ewigkeit, Amen.

GOETTINGEN Univ.

97. 1872.

Geistliche Milch | für Christenkinder, um sie damit zur Ehre Gottes zu nähren und aufzuziehen. | Von | Juan de Valdés. | Aus dem Lateinischen des P. P. Vergerio | von Ludwig de Marées. |

In Christliches Volksblatt, *edited by Gustav Stutzer,* Pastor zu Erkerode bei Braunschweig, *published* by *G. Emil Barthel in Halle a. S.,* Sechster Jahrgang. Nr. 30. 21. Juli 1872. *P. 273—279, with a short* Vorwort des Uebersetzers *p. 273—4. The translator is minister of the gospel at Zeitz. Octavo.*

HALLE Ponickau libr.

98. 185. .

A Polish translation of the Lac spirituale *is mentioned in the second, the Koenigsberg edition of the Latin (see above n°* **92**).

[Considerations]

99. 1550.

Le cento & dieci di | uine Considerationi del S. | Giouãni Valdesso: nelle qua- | li si ragiona delle cose uti | li, piu necessarie, & piu perfet | te della Christiana | professione. | I Cor. II. | Noi vi ragionamo della perfetta sa- | pientia, non della sapientia di questo | mondo, &c. | In Basilea, M. D. L. |

Octavo. Curione's preface fol. a *2* — a *7.* Tavola a *8* — b *4. Considerations* A *1* — Hh *4, 244 leaves. Neither leaves nor pages are numbered, but at the head of the columns stand the numbers of the considerations. The body of the book in Italics. A facsimile of the title is given with my reprint (see here n°* **100**) *p. 441, with Usóz' translation first ed. (here n°* **102**), *and second* ed. (*here n°* **103**) *p. 460, and with Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n°* **109**) *p. 180.*

HALLE Orphanhouse, ULM City, COIRE Cantonal library, CAMBRIDGE Trinity. HAMBURG City (see F. L. Hoffmann's notice in the Intelligenzblatt zum Serapeum *1862, 15 February, p. 20). Cf. my* Cenni *p. 534.*

In the Catalogue de livres rares et curieux en vente aux prix marqués à la librairie Bachelin-Deflorenne, Paris 1872, *p.* 186, *n°* 2435, a copy, not bound, *was offered for* 480 *francs*, sur le titre l'envoi autographe: Excello D. Gasparro a Zydbruck (?) Lelius Sozinus, d. d. Bel exemplaire. Légères mouillures aux derniers ff. *No doubt the questionable name is* Nydbruck. *There are letters of him in S. Thomas archives, Strassburg; see below in the article on Enzinas.*

Coelius Secundus Curio is among the first rate prohibited writers in Pius' IV. Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 16.

100. 1860.

Le cento e dieci | divine considerazioni | di | Giovanni Valdesso. | Halle in Sassonia. | MDCCCLX. |

110 copies have the name of the bookseller: E. Anton. *between the printing place and the year, in a separate line.*

Octavo. The title and tavola *XII p., second title one leaf. The work p. 1—425;* Epistola del primo editore *with notice on this one (Curione) p. 427—437;* Confronto della edizione del 1550 con la presente del 1860 *p. 439—475;* Cenni biografici sui fratelli Giovanni e Alfonso di Valdesso. 1861. *p. 477—598,* Documento inedito *p. 599—603.* Supplimenti *p.* 604; *one leaf with errata. Total 620 pages. Besides, one leaf facsimile, belonging to p. 484. On p. 598 the name of the editor is subscribed:* Eduard Boehmer.

Many copies were distributed to public libraries, cf. above p. 61.

Facsimiles of the title-page, in the Spanish translation of 1863 (here n° **103**) *p. 461, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n°* **109**) *p. 181, both without the name of E. Anton.*

101. 1862.

Ziento i diez consideraziones | leidas i explicadas házia el | año de 1538 i 1539. | Por Juán de Valdés. | Conforme a un ms. Castellano | escrito el a. 1558 | existente en la biblioteca de Hamburgo, | I ahora publicada por vez primera | con un facsimile. | Valdesio Hispanus scriptore superbiat Orbis. | España . Año MDCCCLXII.

Octavo. Two title leaves, the work p. 1—544, besides notes p. 1—18, errata *2 pages, fascimile 2 leaves.*

The title given above is the second. First title: Reformistas antiguos | Españoles. | N° XVI. |

Facsimiles of the chief title-page, in the Spanish translation of 1863 (here n° **103**) *p. 467, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n°* **109**) *p. 190.*

102. 1855.

Ziento i diez | consideraziones | de | Juan de Valdés. | Ahora publicadas por primera vez en castellano. | "Valdessio Hispanus Scriptore superbiat Orbis." | (Dan. Roger. Epigr. in tum. Juelli. Humphr. | Vita Juel. 4to. 1573.) | Año de MDCCCLV. |

Octavo. Titles 5 leaves; Curione's preface in Italian and Spanish p. 2—21, tabla *p. 23—36, the work p. 37—544, editor's appendix 55 p., errata 1 leaf, additional* Advertenzias *2 leaves, total 615 pages. First title leaf:* Reformistas antiguos | Españoles. | Tomo IX.

It was translated by Don Luis Usóz i Rio. Only 208 copies printed.

Facsimiles of the chief title-page, in the second edition of 1863 (here n° 103) p. 466, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 188.

103. 1863.

Ziento i diez consideraziones | de | Juán de Valdés. | Primera vez publicadas en Castellano, el a. 1855 | por | Luis de Usóz i Rio | i | ahora correjidas nuevamente con mayór cuidado. | "Valdesio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis." | Dan. Roger. Epigr. in tum. Juelli Humphr. | Vita Juel. 4to. 1573. | *[Ornamental leaf]* | Año de MDCCCLXIII. |

Octavo. XXXI pages title, Curione's preface, tabla; *considerations p. 1—426;* variantes *p. 427—457; twelve title-pages of the editions and of the Hamburg ms. p. 459—470;* apéndize *(containing various information on the brothers John and Alphonse Valdés) p. 471—725;* tablas, advertenzias, erratas *727—734.*

Colophon: Impreso en Londres: | En casa de G. A. Claro del Bosque. | Acabose de imprimír | En el 28° del dézimo mes | del Año 1863.

Prefixed title: Reformistas antiguos | Españoles. | Tomo XVII. |

Facsimiles of the chief title-page, in the work itself p. 468, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés p. 189.

104. 1563.

Cent | et dix con- | syderations | divines de Jan | de VAL D'ESSO, | Traduites premierement, d'Espai- | nol en langue Italienne, & de nou- | ueau mises en François, par | C. K. P. | [*A device: a salamander in flames, with inscription at the sides:* durer, mourir, | & non perir. | A Lyon, | Par Claude Senneton, | M. D. LXIII. |

Pages 708 [misnumbered 608] including title; besides table: 9 unnumbered leaves; total 726 pages. Octavo.

Colophon: A Lyon, | Par Jean d'Ogerolles, | 1563.

Facsimiles of the title, in the Spanish translation of 1863 (here n° 103) p. 462, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 182.

OXFORD ALL Souls, PARIS Nationale.

104ᵇ. 1601.

Les divines | considerations, | et sainctes meditations | de Jean de VAL D'ESSO Gentil-homme Espaignol. | Touchant tout ce qui est necessaire, pour la per- | fection de la vie Chrestienne. | Traduittes par C. K. P. | Reueuës de nouueau, & rapportees fidelement à l'Exemplaire | Espaignol, & amplifiees de la Table des prin- | cipales matieres traictees par l'Aucteur. | × | A Lyon, | Par Pierre Picard. | 1601.

a 2, a 3 *and* a 4: Le tradvctevr av lectevr, *dated:* Lyon 10 Spt. 1600. *Then immediately p. 17 foll. the old edition of 1563, sheets* b *to* Y *inclus. Sheet* Z *is reprinted, it consists of only 3 printed leaves; on page 1 and 3 and 4 of this reprint the catch-word is wanting, and of course the publisher's mark:* d'Ogerolles 1563, *the corresponding page of the reprint being blank.*

Facsimiles of the title, in the Spanish translation of 1863 (here n° 103) p. 470, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 184.

PARIS Nationale.

105. 1565.

Cent | et dix con- | syderations | divines de Jan | de VAL D'ESSO. | Traduites premierement, d'Es- | paignol en langue Italienne, | & de nouueau mises en | François, par | C. K. P. A Paris, — | Par Mathurin Preuost, â l'escu | de Venise, rue S. Jaques. | 1565. |

This title is within an engraved border.

Small octavo. Curione's epistle and Valdés' text p. 1—658 (title-leaf included). Table 7 leaves.

Facsimiles of the title, in both edition's of Usóz's translation (here n°s 102 and 103), in the second on p. 463, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n° 109) p. 183.

PARIS Nationale.

106. 1665.

Jo. Valdessi Godsalige Anmerckingen uyt het Italiansche overgeset, 1565. 8vo.

Not discovered. A copy was in the library of Zach. Conrad Uffenbach of Frankfort in 1729—35. See Boehmer's Cenni *p. 536—7. The translator was Adrianus Gorinus, preacher of the* Waalsch *evangelical congregation at Emden in Frisia; in consequence of difference of theological views between him and other protestant ministers of that country* (Cenni *p. 583 f) he resigned his office and left that place in 1568. — He is not identical with Adriaan van Haemstede. See Joh. ab Utrecht Dresselhuis in Kist and Royaards* Archief *t. VI., Leiden 1835, p. 64. 65. Haemstede died in 1562, see ibid. p. 45. and: van der Aa* Woordenboek *t. VIII, 1. 1867. p. 52. I make these remarks, because Wiffen,* Life of Valdés, *p. 192, wrote:* Dutch Translation [by Adrian Hamsteed?]

107. 1638.

The hundred and ten | considerations | of signior | John Valdesso: | treating of those | things which are most profitable, most | necessary, and most perfect in our | Christian Profession. | Written in Spanish, | Brought out of Italy by Vergerius, and | first set forth in Italian at Basil by | Cœlius Secundus Curio, | Anno 1550. | Afterward translated into French, and Printed | at Lions 1563. and again at Paris 1565. | And now translated out of the Italian | Copy into English, with No-

tes. | Whereunto is added an Epistle of the Author's, | or a Preface to his Divine Commentary | upon the Romans. | I Cor. 2 | Howbeit we speak wisdome amongst them that are per- | fect, yet not the wisdome of this world. | Oxford, | Printed by Leonard Lichfield, Printer | to the Vniversity, Ann. Dom. 1638.

Quarto. Title 1 leaf. Publisher to reader: 1 leaf, notes concerning the dubious and offensive passages in the Considerations 4½ leaves, Curione's introduction 3 leaves, table 4½, Thomas Jackson's censure 1 leaf letter of George Herbert 1 leaf. Text p. 1—311. Epistle dedicatory of Valdes to his commentary upon the Romans, eleven unnumbered pages. Errata?

The translation was made by Nicholas Farrer.

BODLEIAN.

A copy of this Oxford edition of 1638 of the English translation of Valdés' Considerations was offered, in Quaritch's catalogue n° 280, published London, October 1871, p. 148, and again in his miscellaneous catalogue n° 38, *London 1872, p. 14, for £2. 2s. (calf, the Marquis of Hastings' copy).*

Facsimiles of the title, in both editions of Usóz's translation (here n°s **102** *and* **103**), *in the second on p. 464, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n°* **109**) *p. 185.*

108. 1646.

Divine | considerations | Treating | Of those things which are most profi- | table, most necessary, and most | perfect in our Christian | Profession. | By | John Valdesso. | I. Cor. 2. 6. | Howbeit we speak wisdome amongst them | that are perfect; yet not the wisdome of | this world. | Cambridge: | Printed for E. D. by Roger Daniel, Printer | to the University. 1646. |

The title in a border. Small octavo. 476 pages. This is Nicholas Farrer's translation revised.

LAMBETH (according to Wiffen). WIFFEN (one leaf wanting, but replaced by facsim.)

Facsimile of the title in the Spanish translation, of 1863, (here n° **103**) *p. 465, and in Wiffen's Life of Valdés (here n°* **109**) *p. 186.*

109. 1865.

Life and writings | of | Juán de Valdés, | otherwise Valdesso, | Spanish reformer in the sixteenth century, | by Benjamin B. Wiffen. | With | A Translation from the Italian | of his | Hundred and Ten Considerations, | by | John T. Betts. | Valdesio Hispanus scriptore superbiat orbis. | Daniel Rogers. | Non Moritura. — Giulia Gonzaga's Motto, p. 112. | *[Ornamental leaf]* | London: | Bernard Quaritch, 15 Piccadilly. | 1865. | [The right of Translation and Reproduction is reserved.] | *With*

portrait of Giulia Gonzaga. Wiffen says: „No portraits have been put into the copies issued by the Publisher; they are only put into copies issued by myself and sent by me to friends and libraries.“ Royal Octavo. Pages XIII (titles included) and 590.

P. 179—192 *title-facsimiles, the same as in the Spanish 1863 translation, of editions of the Considerations, and of the Hamburg MS.; and notice on the not yet discovered Dutch edition. Next leaf:* Juán de Valdés. | Part. II. *Next leaf:* The hundred and ten considerations | of Juán de Valdés. | Translated from the Italian | by | John T. Betts. | *[Ornamental leaf]. Translator's preface p. 197—200. Curione's introduction and Valdés' text p. 201—583; besides a separate leaf with* note to cons. LXIII. p. 392. Index to the considerations *p. 585—586.*

Wiffen has given in English, parts of the dialogue Mercurio (*see above n°* **71.**); *of the* Diálogo de la lengua, *on p.* 95—102;
of the Alfabeto Christiano, *p.* 118—136;
of the two Commentaries to S. Paul's epistles, p. 140—153,
with the dedication to Giulia, p. 154—159;
of the Christian's own book, p. 172—3.

110. 1861.

The sixty third consideration in German, translated by Ludwig Giesebrecht, p. 327—330 *in his article* Die Brüder Valdes, *in* Damaris. | Eine Zeitschrift | von | Ludwig Giesebrecht. | 1861. | Stettin, 1861. | Verlag von Th. von der Nahmer. | Müller'sche Buchhandlung. | *Octavo.*

111. 1870.

Juan de Valdés: | Hundertundzehn | Göttliche Betrachtungen. | Aus dem Italienischen. | Mit einem Anhang: | Ueber | die Zwillingsbrüder Juan und Alfonso de Valdés | von | Eduard Böhmer. | Halle ª/S. | Verlag von Georg Schwabe. | 1870. |

Octavo After the title-leaf p. III—VIII: Vorwort, *dated* September 1869 *(printed after the book was printed). The translation of the Considerations p. 1—314. It is made by Hedwig Boehmer, the editor's wife. Then the Appendix. Life of the brothers Valdés p. 315—368. On Spirit and Scripture (on occasion of Consideration 63) p. 369—380. Corrections for the Italian text of the Considerations, p. 381—384, with some corrections for Curione's preface and Boehmer's* Cenni (*cf. above here n°* **100**), *p. 384. Corrections for this German translation, p. 385. List of the considerations and titles of the pieces of the Appendix p. 386—392.*

When sheet 8 was printed, I got the Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá, *Valencia 1872. The second volume of it affords me some additions to the article on Valdés. The Alcalá edition of the Imperial apology against the Pope (my n° 2) and the Antwerp edition (my n° 8) are found under Salvá's n° 2861. He has an edition Barcelona 1625 of Sandoval's History of Charles V. (n° 3179, see my n° 22). The edition* en let. gót. *of the* dos diálogos *n° 2918 is my n°* 56 *(or* 57?*), the other edition, described in the first place under the same n° is my n°* 59; *the* Dve dialoghi *n° 2919 are my n°* 66. *As for Mayáns' edition of the* Dialogo de las lenguas, *my n°* 76, *Salvá says n° 2321:* El Sr. D. Pascual de Gayángos me aseguró que en la mayor parte de los ejemplares se castraron ciertos pasajes los cuales fueron sustituidos por puntitos; en el mio no encuentro nada suprimido. *After having described the commentaries of Juan de Valdés upon the epistle to the Romans and the first epistle to the Corinthians, he says p. 822:* sus obras obtuvieron ya el honor de ser anatematizadas por el Santo Oficio, é incluidas en su Indice espurgatorio desde el año 1559: á esto se debe indudablemente una no pequeña parte de su celebridad, y el gran empeño con que se las ha buscado por todos los hombres ilustrados. El hecho es que hoi dia se consideran estos tratados como dos libros preciosos por su rareza . . . He oido decir que algun sugeto más racional que los inquisidores antiguos, ha reimpreso en los tiempos modernos estas producciones de Valdes, y las de algunos de los reformadores españoles del siglo XVI.

A copy of n° 81 is in my possession.

FRANZISCO AND JAIME DE ENZINAS.

Franzisco de Enzinas, or Dryander, as he called himself, translating his family-name into Greek,[1]) was from Burgos,[2]) and was born about the year 1520.[3]) His parents, noble and wealthy, sent the youth to the Netherlands where they had highly esteemed relatives. When recalled to his family in Spain, towards the end of 1537, he found the influence of the great religious movement even in his native town. Pedro de Lerma, a theologian, who had lived half a century at Paris, had been driven to recant by the Spanish Inquisition, and was about to leave his own country for ever.[4]) On June 4. 1539 Franzisco Enzinas matriculated at Louvain[5]), where

1) Joach. Camerarius de Philippi Melanchth. ortu cet., Lps. 1566, [Halle Univ.], p. 341: *Eum nominabant Franciscum Dryandrum. Sed familiae, ut ferebant, apud suos inprimis nobilis appellatio alia erat voce gentili* [viz. Enzinas], *quam Graecum illud nomen quodammodo interpretaretur.* — De la Serna Santander in the *Catalogue des livres de la biblioth. de M. C. de la Serna Santander*, t. 1, *Bruxelles, an XI (1803)* [Halle Univ.], p. 19: *Dryander . . . Enzinas qui signifie Chêne-verd.* This means the Latin *ilex*, and from *ilicina* comes Spanish *enzina*. On the title of the French translation of the book on his captivity in Belgium he is called *du Chesne*. In the address of a letter of Bucer to him, written in the beginning of 1548, he is called *Frantz Eichman*.

2) This is evident from his book *de statu Belgicae* [see below n° **120**; I quote it as *Belg.*] cap. 180. 181. 183. 186. 187. — Dr. Luis Nuñez directs a letter *Nobilissimo viro domino francisco enzinas burgensi.* It contains the passage: *cum summa essem necessitate cognatis tuis ac tui nominis studiosissimis vinctus* — *Burgales* he is called by Cipr. de Valera in the Exhortacion before his bible of 1602, fol. *3.

3) On his age see *Belg.* cap. 83. 107. 116. 144. 157, and 183 with Campan's note.

4) Belg. c. 183.

5) In the matriculation-book of the University of Louvain, of the years 1528—1569 (at present in the royal archives at Brussels: *Université de Louvain, 42 Folio)* the following names are found under *1539 Junius IIII: Antonius Gottiris Hispanus. Dns franciscus densines Hispanus. Daunauus a Gorb Lusitanus Nobilis.* I owe this notice to Revd C. Krafft at Elberfeld, President of the *Bergische Geschichtsverein*, who had, of his own accord, the kindness to communicate it to me, in 1872.

Compare on the theologians of Louvain *Rvardi Tappart Apotheosis: Gratiano Vero autore.* [Basel Univ.]. The publisher's preface is dated *1558*. Brunet 5, 655. Verus speaks also of Persevaldus (Belg. c. 70 sq.).

he attended the lectures of the Romanists, although he was already a decided protestant.

About the time when Francis matriculated at Louvain, and probably after having seen him there, his brother James left that University where he had specially enjoyed the friendship of the pious and mild Cassander. By their parents' will James went to Paris, which he found, as he expresses himself, less an Academy than a Babel. After having witnessed there in 1540 the burning of Claude le Peintre, a young Parisian, who resolutly suffered a cruel death for his evangelical convictions, James shook the dust from his feet and returned to the Netherlands about the end of that year. He stayed a month at Louvain, where, however, he did not again find Cassander, who had removed to Bruges. About the middle of January 1541 James went to Antwerp, following the proposal of a bookseller there, to get a Catechism printed, which James had himself translated into Spanish. On the 20th of February he writes from thence to Cassander, that he hopes to have it finished in two days, and then to return to Louvain. In the same letter he says that his brother who had previously been with him at Antwerp, had left for Wittenberg.[6]) Franzisco's most ardent wish was to sit at the feet of Melanchthon. "To enjoy the instruction of this man, I would travel to the very end of the civilized world," so he wrote to John à Lasco, asking him for introductions to Luther and Melanchthon and other learned men of that most flourishing University. This letter to à Lasco, written May 10. 1541, is still dated from Louvain, where he had

6) *Frater enim meus Dryander, cum Leucoream abire constituisset* . . . p. 58 of Jaime's letter, on which see below n° **115**. Leucorea is a Greek translation of Wittenberg. Jaime does not mention the Christian name of his brother; no doubt, he means Franzisco. Nor does he name the Paris martyr, but from what he says I conclude without hesitation, that he speaks of Le Peintre, on whom see Crespin's *Actes des martyrs* 1565 (colophon 1564), p. 148. From this combination we find the year of the letter, which is not given by the editor. M'Cric p. 179 finds the same year 1541, comparing *Histoire des Martyrs, f. 119, b,* which means most likely the same passage quoted by me, which in the edition of 1608 is read on fol. 119 verso. M'Crie seems, however, to confound that execution of 1540 described by Dryander, with another one related by Knobelsdorf, which took place in 1542.

That Jaime was younger than Franzisco may be concluded from Jaime's words (epist. p. 58): *cum frater multum apud me valeat autoritate.*

seen à Lasco some time before, no doubt in 1540 or in 1539.[7]) From Louvain Franzisco did not, however, go directly to Wittenberg, but proceeded to Paris, where he just arrived to cheer the last days of, and to do the funeral honours to, the venerable Lerma, who died in the month of August 1541.[8])

On the 27. of October 1541 Franciscus Dryander Hispanus matriculated in the University of Wittenberg.[9]) There he lived in Melanchthon's hospitable house,[10]) principally occupied in translating the New Testament from the Greek into Spanish. Such a version from the original was indeed a necessity of the time. The Castilian translation which king Alfonso X had had made from the Latin in the 13th century, had not been printed nor had it been circulated; nay, Enzinas, it would appear, had never heard of it. Juan Valdés' undertaking, of which Enzinas then most likely knew nothing not even by hearsay, was perhaps never brought to an end, at all events it was not even partly published. When Enzinas had completed his work, he left his dear Wittenberg, in the beginning of 1543[11]), in order to superintend the printing of the manuscript in the Netherlands.

Franzisco first went to Frisia. He visited John a Lasco at Emden, then Albert Hardenberg at Aduard, whom he succeeded in moving to decisive rupture with Romanism.[12]) When Franzisco arrived at Lou-

7) On à Lasco's stay at Louvain at that time see Gerdesii *Hist. reform.* t. 3. 1749. p. 147. Franzisco writes: *cum te primum Lovanii viderem,* and afterwards: *ante duos menses itineri sum accinctus, ut tuam Amplitudinem invisere . . . liceret* (at Emden). *Jam Antverpiam perveneram, cum malus quidam genius . . . pedem reflectere coegit.*

8) Belg. c. 183.

9) *Album acad. Viteberg.* ed. Foerstemann 1841, p. 192. — On 14. Feb. of the same year was matriculated *Joannes Ramiricz Hispanus.* In the winter 1538—9 among the *pauperes gratis inscripti: Ferdinandus de Canaria insula una ex fortunatis.* 1520, April 24 was matriculated: *Matheus Adrianus Hispanus hebraice lingue professor et medicinarum doctor.*

10) This is to be concluded from Melanchthon's words quoted in our note 22.

11) Belg. c. 2.

12) The report on Enzinas experiences in the Netherlands from 1543 down to his liberation out of the prison, is taken from his own book *de relig. Belg.* &c.

In the Album of the University of Wittenberg we find in 1543 mense Junio: *Albertus Hardenbergk Frisius Theologiae Doctor,* among the *Pauperes gratis inscripti.* I think he is the Frisian, on whom Melanchthon writes to Paul Eber 13. 7. 1543 (Corp. Ref. 5, 142 f.), as the Franciscus Hispanus of the same letter is

vain, the first news he heard was, that, the night before, twenty eight protestants had been imprisoned on account of their religion. He thought, Brussels would be a better place for him, to work unobserved; but there also he found that persecution had just begun: He returned to Louvain where he had many relatives, some of great authority in the town; he now only called on them and got a heartier welcome than he might have expected, judging from their habit and their creed. He also made a trip to Antwerp to visit an uncle. When he returned from there to Louvain, he, in July, witnessed the execution of some whose religious convictions he shared; two old women were buried alive as obstinate Lutherans. Notwithstanding such impressions he resolved to publish his New Testament. He submitted his manuscript to the theologians of Louvain. They answered that as the reading of the Holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue had led to heresy in Germany, they could only congratulate Spaniards upon their wish, rather to dispense with a Spanish translation, than to risk it. It did not rest with the Faculty, however, either to approve or to prohibit the publication, as no Imperial mandate forbade it, whilst the Imperial Imprimatur had even been given for Bibles. Enzinas therefore left for Antwerp, where typography was then most flourishing. Some advised him to delay printing till the arrival of the Emperor, of whom he would easily get a license; but he did not think it prudent to expose his work to the danger of being stifled before it saw the light by the antievangelical current at court. Thus at the cost of Enzinas the Spanish New Testament was printed by Stephen Mierdmann, who could so much the less demur at it, as only in 1538 the New Testament had been allowed to be printed in French in the same town. In a dedi-

Dryander. Melanchthon, as the letter, written from Cologne, shows, thought then that Franzisco might already have returned to Wittenberg. It was probably in 1543 at Aduard, that a copy of *Alfonsi Viruesii Philippicae disputationes, Coloniae* 1542, now in the church library at Emden, received the dedication: *Alberto Hardebergo F. Driander;* there are found some manuscript marginal notes in that copy, the existence of which I know by a communication of Revd C. Krafft whose kindness I have already acknowledged in note 5. Melanchthon means this work of Virues in a letter of 21. 7. 1543 (Corp. Ref. 5, 147). A copy of the work is in the Halle University library.

cation to the Emperor Enzinas explained what had moved him to undertake the version and that such a one was not in contravention of any law. The title "New Testament, that is the new covenant of our Redeemer and only Saviour Jesus Christ" gave offence before the issue of the copies. Covenant, they said, was a word in favour with the Lutherans, and the adjective *only* was too provoking. Enzinas consented to omit both, and took care besides that no copy should be given away before he should have presented one to the Emperor. Charles, when he had been informed that a Castilian New Testament was in the press at Antwerp, issued the order from Cambray on November 13 to the president of the privy council of Brabant, to prohibit the printing and distribution of it; the printer Cron had already printed other prohibited books, and the translator of this New Testament was an object of suspicion. The next day the Regent gave from Valenciennes the corresponding order to the margrave of Antwerp. He answered on the 20th: even before the receipt of this Royal letter he had notice, that Miermans (not Cron) printed the translation of Enzinas, who had promised the printer, to get him the Imperial sanction; and he the margrave had had the translation examined by some theologians of the Franciscan order, who had given their opinion that, excepting some irrelevant marginal notes, they had found scarcely anything objectionable.[13]) After the arrival of the Royal order he had at once stopped the continuation of the print and also the sale. This measure could not escape Enzinas, but, that an Imperial letter was the cause of the prohibition, seems to have remained entirely unknown to him. Franzisco arrived at Brussels, on the same day with the Emperor, on November 23. 1543. The bishop of Jaen, a wellwisher of his, introduced him on the next day, sunday, to the Court. In a hall, where he found many high personages standing about, he saw the Emperor take his luncheon, sitting at his table alone, and he admired the gracefulness and dignity of his manners. When he rose, he stood leaning on a thin cane and gave ear to some brief report of a general. Then the bishop took Enzinas' hand, led him to the Emperor, and asked that his Majesty would consent to receive the dedication of this excellent

13) *il y aurait peu de scrupulosité.* See Campan vol. I, p. 644.

work of his young friend. What book is it? asked Charles, turning towards Enzinas, who answered: "It is that part of Holy Scripture, Sire, which we call the New Testament, faithfully translated by me into Spanish; wherein is principally contained the evangelical history and the epistles of the Apostles. I wished to have your Majesty, the protector of religion and pure faith, for judge and propitious examiner of this labour, and I humbly beseech, that the work, approved by the assent of your Majesty, be recommended to the Christian people under your Imperial authority." The Emperor asked the young man: Are you the author of this book? The Holy Spirit, Sire, said Enzinas, is its author, inspired by whose breath men of God have handed these divine oracles to all mankind in the Greek language; I am only a subordinate servant and feeble organ, who have translated the book into the Spanish language. Into the Castilian? asked the Emperor. Into our Castilian language, Sire; of which work, said Enzinas, I now beseech you to be patron and defender according to your clemency. Be it as you ask, replied the Sovereign; provided there be nothing suspicious in the book. Nothing in the whole work, Sire, is suspicious, assured Enzinas, unless the voice of God which sounds from heaven, the redemption by his only begotten son Jesus Christ, our Saviour, who proceeds from the bosom of the eternal Father, ought to be suspicious to Christians. Your wish is granted, concluded the Emperor, if the book is such as is represented by you and by the bishop. Charles took the copy and withdrew to his cabinet. On the next day the bishop was commissioned to hand the book to the Emperor's confessor Pedro de Soto [14]) who was to examine whether the translation was good or bad. Enzinas returned to Antwerp. Thither the bishop wrote him that the monk seemed to be satisfied with the book which he had, however, not yet read through. As the examiner had expressed the intention to confer at Antwerp, where the Emperor was to go, with the translator in person on certain not very important points, Enzinas instantly returned to Brussels. He was received by the courtly monk with a profusion of civilities, but dismissed several

14) See on him Quetif et Echard *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum* t. 2. p. 183 sq.

times on the pretext of business that could not be postponed. At last he made Enzinas wait in his cell, recommending him to read a chapter, concerning them in a book which he left lying open. It was Alfonso de Castro's Latin work against all heresies. The writer praised the authorities of Spain who had threatened severe punishment to those who should venture to translate the Holy Scripture, that inexhaustible source of heresies, into the popular language.[15]) Enzinas' blood was up. The Dominican, when he returned, assumed a high and solemn strain. He spoke in harmony with that book, and added: moreover there had been raised against Enzinas the charge that he had been in Germany with Melanchthon and had praised such a man's virtues and doctrines, as also that he was the author of a very pernicious book recently published. I do not know, so he concluded, how you will come off without grievous penalty. Enzinas answered broadly. He assured him that he had never edited anything besides the New Testament. He stated that to hold conversations with Luther and Melanchthon was not forbidden; the Emperor himself, said he, had spoken with them. And as for spreading the New Testament, it was not only not prohibited by human laws, but it was a holy duty to do so. That the Confessor should with respect to the translation, confine himself to following the orders of his Sovereign, viz. to search whether it were exact. Soto still observed that the version as such was indeed praiseworthy,[16])

15) I quote some passages to be compared with *Belg.* c. 105. — *F. Alfonsi de Castro adv. omnes haereses libri XIIII, diligentius recogniti ac emendatius quam antehac typis excusi, Coloniae* 1543 [Halle Univ.]. Lib. 1, c. 13, fol. 25: *Tertia demum haeresum parens et origo est sacrarum literarum in linguam vulgarem translatio, unde evenit ut ab omnibus sine ullo personarum discrimine legantur. Ut autem convincamus hanc esse et saepe fuisse haeresum causam, illud imprimis statuere oportet, haeresim nunquam ex sacris literis, sed ex illarum perversa intelligentia oriri ... Quapropter laudandum merito venit edictum illustrissimorum catholicorumque Hispaniae regum, Ferdinandi videlicet eiusque coniugis Helisabetae, quo sub gravissimis poenis prohibuerunt ne quis sacras literas in linguam vulgarem transferret aut ab alio* [misprint: alia] *translatas quoquo pacto retineret. Timuerunt namque prudenter plebi suae quam regendam susceperant, ne ulla occasio illi daretur errandi ...* Fol. 27: *Cum ergo plus nocumenti inferatur ex libris sacris in linguam vulgarem versis quam ex lectione gentilium philosophorum, merito illud* [versio libror. sacror.] *inhibetur, etiamsi de alio* [de philos.] *nulla fiet* [sic] *prohibitio.* The first edition of de Castro's book had appeared at Paris 1534, another one at Cologne 1539.

16) Compare Richard Simon on Franzisco Enzinas' New Testament. *Nouvelles observations sur le texte et les versions du nouveau testament. Par R. S. P. Paris 1695.*

only it would have been better to apply such great labour and carefulness to another subject. At the first step out of his door Enzinas was seized by a detachment of soldiers and brought to prison. The order came from the chancellor Granvelle, but Enzinas instantly discovered the Dominican in it, a surmise which was afterwards confirmed by the chancellor's own statement. This imprisonment happened on December 13. 1543.

After the terrible agitation of the first few days Enzinas composed himself, principally by converse with a fellow prisoner, Aegidius Tielmans, a cutler; in him the young scholar forthwith gained an elder friend, one deeply experienced in spiritual things and whose piety and edifying conduct Francis knew not adequatly how to extol. On the fourth and fifth days of his detention Enzinas was brought before the members of the privy council charged with his examination. They kept strictly to their written instructions, in which the accused recognised

Seconde partie, ch. 2, p. 151 sv. After having analyzed and criticized Enzinas' preface, Simon says: *su version qui est faite sur le texte Grec, est assez exacte ... Il s'attache ordinairement à la version d'Erasme, qu'il a imitée au commencement de l'Evangile de S. Jean* [v. 1]... *Une preuve de son exactitude est qu'il a mis trois fois à la marge le mot Grec λόγος vis à vis de l'Espagnol palabra. Il en use de même en quelques autres endroits, où il met une note lors qu'il voit que le mot est ambigu. Il ajoûte neanmoins rarement ces petites notes qui ne regardent même pour l'ordinaire que les poids, les mesures, les monnoyes et autres choses semblables, qu'il accommode aux usages de son pays, afin de rendre sa traduction plus intelligible: mais il conserve les anciens mots dans le texte ... Je n'examine point si ces petits éclaircissemens d'Enzinas sont partout exacts: il suffit d'avoir observé in general, qu'il est judicieux en ce qu'il n'a pas pris la liberté de changer les mots de l'original dans sa version, sous pretexte de la rendre plus claire étant destinée à l'usage du simple peuple: il a renvoyé aux marges ces explications qui font le même effet sans alterer son texte. Son bon sens paroit encore en ce qu'il a évité le plus qu' il luy a été possible les periphrases, gardant le caractere des Auteurs qu' il traduisoit. Il supplée même rarement des mots pour se faire mieux entendre: il ne laisse pas nonobstant cela de se rendre intelligible, principalement à ceux qui sont tant soit peu exercez dans le stile des Livres sacrez. Mais aprés tout, il étoit bien difficile qu' il ne s' émancipât quelquefois: aussi a-t-il eu en quelques endroits plus d'égard au sens, qu' à la lettre de son original, comme au chap. 1. de l'Epître aux Romains v. 28. où il y a dans le Grec παρέδωκεν αὐτοὺς ὁ Θεός, et dans le Latin de la Vulgate, tradidit illos Deus, il a traduit παρέδωκε, qui signifie a livré, par permitio caer, a permis de tomber. Il a voulu adoucir cette expression qui luy a paru trop rude.* [Most likely Enzinas had here no such arrière-pensée]. *Mais ces adoucissements doivent plutôt trouver leur place dans une note à la marge, que dans le corps du texte.*

the pen of the Imperial confessor. Enzinas defended himself with the greatest dexterity. He declared that he had talked with Melanchthon on a great variety of subjects, especially on rhetoric and philosophy. "Whether on sacred also?" Occasionally on a few topics, the majority of which he did not then recollect. When asked how he had expressed himself to Melanchthon? he replied: of the very words it was impossible for him to give account after so long time; they might ask Melanchthon himself who had got a better memory. "What do you think of the man and of his books?" I have not read all his writings, and even if I had read them all, I should not think myself competent to pass judgment on the productions of such a great man. As for his character, I think him the most excellent man I ever saw in my life. On the next day the prisoner was called to account as to how he could venture to say such a thing about a notorious excommunicated heretic? He denied that it was certain that Melanchthon was excommunicated,[17]) and still less had he Enzinas found any heresy in him. As it gave no offence that the learned daily spoke of the divine Plato, of Socrates as a saint, of Aristides as the just, how much more must he be warranted to call one, who at all events joined in the general confession of the Christian church, a most excellent man. Another impeachment against Enzinas was: that he had printed in capitals the Lutheran sentiment that man is justified by faith without works of the law. Although it was the compositor who had done this, without the translator's instructions, still he held it not to be inconvenientto draw the attention of the reader to it, and to warn him not to misunderstand the sentence, which moreover was not Lutheran, but Pauline. More painful than this trial were to Enzinas the visits of some of his relations, who came to the wise conclusion that all this was the consequence of his unnecessarily interfering with theology. All efforts with influential persons in favour of the prisoner failed. Soto said, the only thing which he could promise was that he would endeavour to get the affair finished in Belgium so as to prevent its being transferred to the Spanish Inquisition. Enzinas, for his conso-

17) Melanchthon is found as a first class heretic in Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 33. 35.

lation, studied the Psalms and wrote down prayers suggested by them; thus he perused the whole Psalter from beginning to end.[18]) Moreover frequent visits from persons, who felt as he did in relation to the great religious struggle, cheered and strengthened him. For the prison was by no means strictly secluded from the outward world, on the contrary the jailors discipline was so lax, that he subsequently was deposed from his office.[19]) From Brussels alone hundreds of persons went to see Enzinas. Two cavaliers also of the Imperial court, which continued at Brussels till the second of January 1544, the one a Spaniard and the other a Burgundian,[20]) repeatedly spent hours with him, and also took meals in the prison, where the keeper's brisk wife made a good fire and gave her best wine, in order to try, whether it was not possible to exhilarate the melancholy young man. The conversation, however, could not but turn on the discouraging situation of Spain, the only country in Christendom, from which the word of God was banished. Enzinas told them amongst other things the history of Franzisco de San Roman, likewise a native of Burgos and a friend of his; snddenly converted at Bremen, he was arrested at Ratisbon, as he had without reserve proclaimed the conviction burning in his heart, and was led in chains with the Emperor to Italy, even as far as Algiers, to find his earthly end at the stake in Spain.[21]) During the first

18) Wiffen thought that a printed volume which he possessed and then sent to Usóz: *Los psalmos de David. Dirigidos en forma de oraciones. MDCXXVIII.* might be this work of Enzinas. I may notice that the extracts in French given among the *Pièces justificatives* of Campan's edition of Enzinas' *Mémoires* t. 2, p. 443—5, no doubt after Wiffen's copy of parts of the original, are not found in the following two different Zurich collections: *Precationes Christianae ad imitationem psalmorum compositae. Tiguri* 1556. [Prohibited in Pius' IV. index. The copy in Halle Univ. libr. has only a ms. title]. *Preces sacrae ex psalmis Davidis desumptae per d. Petrum Martyrem Vermilium.* With preface of Josia Simler, dated 1564. *Tiguri* 1566 [Halle Univ.] and another edition ib. 1578 [Halle Orphanhouse].

19) See Campan 2, 445 f.

20) The *Burgundus* who followed *purioris doctrinae formam* c. 148. 151 perhaps was *Jacques de Bourgogne, seigneur de Falais et de Bréda en Brabant, arrière-petit-fils naturel de Philippe le Beau, duc de Bourgogne;* he left Brabant on account of his evangelical convictions at the end of 1543 or at the beginning of 1544, see Bonnet's collection of Calvin's French letters, t. 1, p. 93 f.

21) See this note at the end of our biography p. 155.

week of 1544, there was in the same prison with Enzinas a citizen of Louvain, Just van Ousberghen, who was beheaded on the 7th of January for his evangelical belief. A fortnight later Enzinas had also to part from his beloved Aegidius Tielmans, who was transferred to another dungeon, where he was tortured; on January 27th he suffered death in the flames as a stubborn heretic. After some time the judicial acts of Enzinas' own process were sent by the president of the privy council to the Court of the Emperor, whence in August 1544 arrived the injunction, to question the prisoner on several points. This was carried out the day before Charles' return to Brussels (therefore on September 30). To the former accusations was added that Enzinas had in some public place sided with Melanchthon and Bucer against a priest. The defendant asked that his accusers should be named to him and confronted with him. He got for reply that nobody accused him but the Emperor. But, said Enzinas, the judge cannot be the accuser. There was nothing to do but to have patience. On one occasion of public rejoicing some murderers and robbers confined in that prison were pardoned, but none of those who had been deprived of their liberty on account of religion. At last, shortly before the Emperor's departure for Ghent (which took place on Dec. 2), the bill of indictment was handed over to Enzinas, who set to work to write his defence. In the meanwhile during the Emperor's residence in the Netherlands religious persecution took a fresh start. Enzinas was especially affected by the news that Peter Alexander, Confessor to Queen Mary, the Emperor's sister, had fled, because, on a charge of Lutheranism, his imprisonment had been decreed; on the second of January 1545 the fugitive was *in contumaciam* condemned as a heretic and his writings burnt at Brussels. In the middle of January the Emperor went to Brussels where he resided till April. The danger grew more threatening for Enzinas; nor did he delude himself about it. One evening, when leaning against a passage-door, in order to look through the grate into the open air, the door gave way. Enzinas stepped out: a second door was likewise open; he knew, the third one was closed only during night. Several times he had let opportunities escape, this time however, he felt he ought to make use of the present one. He called on a friend, they scaled the town-wall, and

half an hour after having taken his supper in his cell he found himself out of Brussels on the way towards Mechlin. It was the first of February 1545. They walked through the night, from Mechlin Enzinas reached Antwerp on horseback in two hours; there his friends kept him a whole month. When the jailor reported the prisoner's absence, the president said: let him run and don't speak of it. Whereby some were confirmed in their view that the judges themselves wished to assist Enzinas' flight. He himself doubts this, but leaves the matter undecided.

Towards the end of the preceding year Enzinas, still in prison, had found means to send a letter to Melanchthon, who praises the magnanimity of the writer.[22]) In the middle of March 1545 the fugitive arrived again at Wittenberg. On March 17. Melanchthon writes to his friend Joachim Camerarius at Leipsic: 'Our Spaniard Franzisco is back, saved by providence. I have asked him, to write a report.'[23]) In July Enzinas finished this his narrative in Latin under the title: On the state of the Netherlands and on Religion in Spain. Melanchthon, to whom it was directed, is several times adressed in it by the writer as his preceptor. Enzinas lived again as a guest in Melanchthon's house. With Belgium he remained in correspondence.[24])

22) Mel. to Joach. Camerarius 25. 12. 1544 (Corp. Ref. 5, 554): *Te vero arbitror libentius lecturum esse Francisci Hispani nostri hospitis epistolam scriptam ex carcere Belgico, placebit enim animi magnitudo, ac filium Dei oro ut eum et nos regat et confirmet.* — I copy in this and the following notes all the passages from Melanchthon's correspondence relating to Franzisco Enzinas, excepting the two recommandation letters to England and the letters to Fr. Enz. himself.

23) Mel. Camerario 17. 3. 1545 (Corp. Ref. 5, 705): *Rediit noster Hispanus Franciscus, divinitus liberatus, sine ope ullius hominis, quem quidem ipse novit; iussi eum historiam scribere, quam tibi afferemus.* Afterwards in the same letter: *A Schetio velim te Francisco Hispano pecuniam petere, iuxta has litteras, et dare ἀποχὴν ut vocant: dabis autem pecuniam huic nuncio afferendam, ac scribis numerum.* — Crodelio (gubern. scholae Torgens.) 21. 3. 1545 (ib. 707): *Venit huc cum Hispano nostro qui e carcere Bruxellensi evasit, viro optimo et integerrimo, alius quidam civis Bruxellensis, qui in manifesto periculo fuit; is nunc quaerit operas. Novit autem vestrum civem qui texit tapetas, quod artificium et ipse exercet . . . Nec tibi commendarem, nisi mihi Hispani nostri virtus spectata et probata esset, qui huius Belgae mores praedicat.*

24) Mel. Bordingo 17. 7. 1545 (ib. 5, 794): *scripsi aliquid eo argumento quod Franciscus Hispanus ait, se ad amicos in Belgicam misisse . . . Significare mihi poteritis an illud meum scriptum a Francisco Hispano missum istuc videritis.*

He was sure to incur some disastrous blow. He got an Imperial summons to return to prison under pain of capital punishment and the confiscation of property. In order to get precise informatiou and to know for certain whether judgment had already been passed on him, he made in August a journey to Leipsic, where there was a commercial house that used to transact his money-matters.[25]) After the beginning of the next year he returned to Wittenberg.[26]) About the time of Luther's death, Enzinas was plunged into the greatest sorrow and agitation by a letter from his family telling him that the Emperor's confessor had taken care not only to prevent his inheriting from his parents, but also to subject them to signal infamy, which could only be avoided by a stay of Franzisco in Italy. His friend Juan Diaz proposed from Neuburg on the Danube to meet him at Nuremberg, and intended to dissuade him from that journey to the enemy's camp, but was himself murdered by fanatical Romanists as we shall relate hereafter. Not even this dreadful event daunted Enzinas, but he resolved to cross the Alps in order to obey his mother's wish.[27]) Melanchthon gave him the warmest letters of recommendation to his friends.[28]) He left Wittenberg about the end of June 1546. In August

25) Mel. Joach. Camerario 20. 8. 1545 (ib. 835): *Hospiti meo Hispano, viro prudenti integro Θεοσεβεῖ diem dixerunt in Belgico sycophantae etiam absenti. Et ex dierum numero ratiocinamur iam latam esse sententiam. Ut igitur inquirat haec et sciscitetur num ad se litterae istuc missae sint, ad vos profectus est. Dedi autem ei epistolam, et ut caussam itineris ipsius scires et quia affici te bonorum virorum calamitatibus scio. Ipse satis forti animo est, etsi includi sibi reditum ad parentes et in patriam videt Sed tamen parentum luctu et dolore movetur.* Compare Juan Diaz letter II.

26) On the first of January 1546 he wrote from Leipzig to Jo. Sleidanus, who on the 31 of the same month directed his answer from Antwerp to Wittenberg (see Sleidan's letter in the archives of S. Thomas, Strassburg).

27) Mel. Camerario, May 1546 (Corp. Ref. 6, 150): *Franciscus Hispanus, ut matri dolorem leniat, Italiam petere decrevit.*

28) Mel. to Hieron. Baumgartner, senator of Nurnberg, 24. 6. 1546 (ib. 180): *Nunc tibi Franciscum Hispanum commendo qui, quia multorum audivit de tua excellenti virtute sermones, videre te voluit. Vir doctus est et gravis, et philosophica quadam diligentia prudentia et dexteritate actiones suas moderatur.* On the same day Mel. wrote to Vitus Theodorus, preacher at Nurnberg (ib. 179): *Hanc epistolam exhibebit tibi Franciscus Hispanus, meus contubernalis, vir doctus gravis et eximia virtute praeditus, in omni officio philosophicam diligentiam praestans. Te et d. Hieronymum Bomgartnerum videre voluit. Hieronymo igitur eum commendabis.*

he was staying at Strassburg in the house of Bucer[29]), who on the 22. of that month gave him introductions to Ambrose Blaurer at Constance and to Vadian at S. Gall.[30]) "He is a living letter from Wittenberg," says Bucer; "he is the soul of Philippus." First however he went to Zurich, where he made friendship with Henry Bullinger, with whom he remained in correspondence.[31]) Bullinger on September 1 directed him to Joachim Vadian, the polyhistor, physician and reformer at St. Gall,[32]) who likewise continued henceforth to be in exchange of letters with Enzinas. After having visited Hieronymus Seiler at Lindau, he went by way of Constance, where he was on the 12 of

Mihi gratum facietis si eum ut me alterum complectemini. To the same, 1 July 1546 (ib. 182): *Si istuc venit Hispanus, meus contubernalis, Franciscus Dryander, iube ut mihi scribat, ac optarim eum in vestra urbe manere aliquot menses. Postea poterit iter facere, ut spero, tuto. Desiderio eius admodum teneor.* — There is no reason to think that Franzisco Enzinas had contributed to the following tract: *Von der Vnchristlichen, tyrannischen, Inquisition, den Glauben belangend, Geschrieben aus Niderland. Wittemberg Anno M. D. XLVI.* Besides the title-leaf two leaves. [Halle Univ.] It states that according to news from Antwerp, dated July 13. 1546, the Spanish Inquisition was about to be established there as soon as the Emperor should have vanquished the Protestants, so that many had already ordered lodgings at Wittenberg.

29) Enzinas epist. III.

30) See my Strassburg program (below here n° 150) p. IV.

31) Enzinas epist. IV and following.

32) I owe to Mr Wartmann, librarian of the city library at St. Gall, the copy of a letter preserved there in original (VI. 189), of Bullinger to Vadian, dated Zurich, September 1., of which I transcribe what relates to Enzinas: *Franciscus hic Dryander, Hispanus, vir recte pius et doctus, venit at tuam humanitatem, vir clarissime, te videndi duntaxat gratia; excitus enim fama nominis tui, diu iam te videre desideravit. Est clara et magna in Hispaniis familia natus, est opulentus et longe doctissimus. Petit praeterea Lindaviam ad d. Hieronymum Seylerum, unde per Constantiam redit usque Basileam, ubi aliquamdiu agere instituit. Sanus et integer est in doctrina catholica et orthodoxa. Cave autem quin ille intelligat, te favere Bucerianae toties mutatae sententiae. Non quod non sciam, recte te sentire de coena Domini, sed quod Bucerus magnifice et splendide Hispano huic praedicavit, quot et quantos in sua sententia habeat viros, inter quos te quoque nominavit. Hispanus dixit, uti mihi retulit: non arbitror virum tantum aliud sentire quam quod literis editis prodidit. Est hic Melanchthoni carissimus, de quo mira audias. Fuit apud Melanchthonem adhuc in mense Junio. Idem praeit eum apud te epistola.*

Theodor Pressel has, in 1861, published a biography of Joachim Vadian, and one of Ambrosius Blaurer of Constance, to whom is directed Enzinas' epist. XXXII.

September,[33]) to Basle, where we find him in October. Here he settled, as he had given up going to Italy; the learned bookseller John Oporinus took him in his house[34]) and soon printed two of his works. At the end of November[35]) they had finished the narrative of the life and death of Juan Diaz, a martyr for evangelical Christendom. Of course Senarclens, his travelling companion and the witness of his last moments, was the reporter for the greatest part of the book which might be called therefore a history by Senarclens, but Enzinas, who also personally knew Diaz from former times, was, no doubt, in the litterary sense of the word the author of it.[36])

Soon after Enzinas had sent out this book, he received the news that his brother James, to whom Juan Diaz owed the evangelical turn of his mind, had been burnt at Rome for the confession of his faith.[37]) Three years ago James had written to a friend:[38]) "In the holy Scriptures to add to or to take anything away from or to distort anything according to one's own mind and affection, is — Christ love me! — the greatest impiety, which a good Christian must not bear, no not even at the risk of his life."

33) At the margin of Bucer's introductory letter to Blaurer (see above p. 146) is written: *recept. 12. Sept.* Most likely E. himself delivered the letter. The route Constance-Basle was his intention, see our note 32.

34) Enzinas epist. VIII.

35) Epist. XII. XIII.

36) Read his expressions in epist. XV. and especially in XVI. Moreover see: *Bibliotheca instituta a Conr. Gesnero in epitomen redacta et locupletata per Josiam Simlerum Tiguri* 1574 [Halle Univ.] p. 131: *Claudius Senarclaeus, doctissimus iuvenis, scripsisse fertur historiam Joannis Diazii Hispani, a fratre suo Alphonso impie trucidati, quod eius caedis oculatus testis fuerit: sed ab alio quodam descripta ea, falsoque, ut invidiam declinaret, illi attributa, in Germania excusa est, anno 1546 cum Buceri praefatione.* Repeated in the same *Bibliotheca amplificata per Joh. Jac. Frisium, Tiguri* 1583 [Halle Univ.] p. 156. This opinion is taken also by Luis Usóz i Rio, Ref. Esp. t. 20, p. 176. Cf. Wiffen p. 44 here above. The geographical notice, however, on the situation of Cuenca, on p. 26 of the *historia*, is thought by Usóz p. 34 an *Enrrevesado modo, de un estranjero, no ducho en la jeografía de España.* This may well be doubted. Even in the *epistola Senarclei* to Bucer, prefixed to the *historia*, the name *rabini* p. 17 for the papistical theologians is an expression which shows Enzinas' hand, see his *historia de statu Belgico*, then unpublished, cap. 8. Compare also our note 39 here.

37) See this note at the end of this biography p. 156.

38) James' epist. p. 62.

The Pope and the decrees of the first year of the Tridentine council were unsparingly criticized by Franzisco in a treatise which appeared about new year 1547.[39]) Saint Paul's doctrine of justification by faith is his banner against the Romanists.[40]) Not less vehe-

39) Only between Nov. 4 and 11 he got a copy of the first three *sessiones*, epist. IX and XI; and on Nov. 26, when the history of Diaz was issued, the printing of those sessions was not completed, epist. XIII. The decrees of January 13. 1547 were not yet known to the author.

Melanchthon wrote to Albert Hardenberg on All-Saints-day 1547 (Corp. Ref. 6, 717): *Franciscus Hispanus, vir optimus et integerrimus, Basileae est. Opinor ab ipso refutationem decretorum aliquot synodi Tridentinae compositam esse, cuius exemplum an videris nescio.* — In the preface *Lectori* of the *Acta conc. Trid.* we find a peculiarly striking expression which occurs also in the Diaz history and in a letter of Francisco Enzinas. In that preface, fol. a 4, the writer says on Pope Paul III: *istum piratam non esse hominem humanum, sed potius diabolum ipsum incarnatum.* Hist. de morte Diazii p. 53: *Malvenda, non equidem te hominem humanum putabo, sed vere ferreum aut marmoreum pectus te habere iudicabo.* Epist. XXIX. (May 1547): *qui in tantis cladibus ecclesiae non vehementer afficiatur, eum equidem non hominem humanum, sed potius marmoreum putabo.* By Franc. Enzinas one should think written the remarks on the Admonition, and also the *adnot. ad 3*, in which two articles the Bible translations are treated. Some parts purport to be written in Rome: adn. to decr. 1 (e 8: *in hac urbe Roma*) and to decr. 6 (m 8: *in hanc urbem Romam*, n 2: *in hac urbe Roma*), as also the postscript (r 7: *in hac urbe Roma*) and the disticha (r 7: *Romae scripta*). These disticha remind one of those accompanying the Hist. Diazii; they might all very well be by the same author. It is possible, that James sent some annotations from Rome and that Francis enlarged them, but it seems more probable that that Roman origin is a fiction introduced by Francis.

40) Adn. ad 6, fol. n 8: *cum negant hominem sola fide justificari posse, et magnam Deo, filio Dei, toti sacrae scripturae, doctrinae Paulinae injuriam faciunt, et suam manifestam impietatem, suam blasphemiam, suam impudentiam, suam insaniam stolidissime produnt. Cum fidem dico, fiduciam misericordiae Dei erga genus humanum propter Christum mediatorem intelligo, juxta Pauli et apostolorum doctrinam, non illam quam isti suis in decretis usurpant historicam notitiam, quae in diabolos quoque ipsos cadere possit, ut Jacobus ait* [2, 19]: *et daemones credunt.* Against Paul III, the murderer of James Enzinas, his brother Franzisco says here, speaking to the fathers in council, annot. ad 4 decr.: *si aliqua omnino dignitas hominis in eis esset, praeter nomen et barbam, pudere illos deberet, si tamen aliquis pudor in eis adhuc haeret, unicum putidum sordidulum atque impium silicernium sibi universis anteponere.* — One might think that Franzisco Enzinas was the author of the pamphlet: *Epistola de morte Pauli tertii pont. max. deque iis quae ei post mortem eius acciderunt. Anno MDXLIX mense Decembri in lucem edita.* Colophon: *Placentiae, mense Decembri anno Christi nati MDXLIX.* Reprinted in Johan. Wolfii *Lectionum memorabilium* t. 2, p. 554 f. G. Th. Strobel, *Neue Beyträge zur Litteratur besonders des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts*, vol. 5, 1794, p. 244 f. thinks, it was written by P. P. Vergerius, although

mently than against the Pope does he express himself in his letters against the Emperor, who by holding the landgrave of Hesse prisoner (which, it is true, was not formally illegal,) had lost the reputation of fair dealing, and who had allowed the murderer of Juan Diaz to remain unpunished, and who prohibited the Holy Scriptures.

One of the first copies Franzisco got of the Diaz martyrology he sent to the Cardinal du Bellay, a man of evangelical sentiments. Diaz had been correspondent of the Cardinal, to whom also the Protestant church historian Sleidanus used to send reports on public affairs. French emissaries in 1546 spoke to Jacob Sturm of Strassburg of the inclination of the Dauphin to the Protestants, whom he could not yet save from being persecuted by his father the king. At Martin Bucer's instance, in November 1546, Enzinas offered to the Cardinal, to be his correspondent in the place of his murdered countryman.[41])

After the Anti-Tridentine Philippica had left the press, in January 1547 he made an excursion to St. Gall, no doubt by way of Zurich, which he visited also on his return in February. On March 1 he writes from Basle again, and there he remained till November, excepting the first week of May, when he was at Strassburg.[42]) In

this divine is called there *Italiae nostrae doctor et lumen.* I think the author is Celio Secondo Curione, who in the preface to Valdés' *Considerazioni* 1550 praises still Vergerio. The passage in this epistola: *genius is qui me abhinc decennium in coelum deduxerat* seems to refer to the *Pasquillus*, which Curione may have begun as early as 1541. A German translation has the title: *Ein Sendbrieff, P. Aesquillij von dem tode Pauli des dritten Babsts dieses namens, Item Was jhm nach seinem tode begegnet ist. Mit zweien Vorreden. Roma. 1.* [follows a long quotation from Romans 1]. S. l. e. a. Colophon: *Impressum ex alio iam alibi impresso exemplari, quod erat uersum ex latino Placentiae excuso.* First preface by Matth. Flacius Illyricus, second probably taken from the first German edition. Q. Total 27 leaves. [Halle Univ.]

41) Epist. XII. The minute written by Dryander's hand is at Strassburg, Thomas-archives, drawer 21. On du Bellay's evangelical tendencies see G. Th. Strobel l. c., fünften Bandes erstes Stück: *Von Melanchthons Ruf nach Frankreich.* As for Jacob Sturm, see his letter of 10 May 1546 in Neudecker's *Merkwürdige Actenstücke*, 1838, p. 744 f.

42) For these and other dates of Enzinas' stays see his letters. I will not omit the following notice from a letter of Melanchthon to Vitus Theodorus, dated 23. 6. 1547 (Corp. Ref. 6, 584): *Literas ad Franciscum Hispanum scriptas, quas nuper τῷ μικρῷ γραμματοφόρῳ tradidi, si nondum misisti, tradas huic Nicolao Argentinensi, auditori nostro, honesto adolescenti.* — Calvin writes to Monsieur de Falais, from Geneva, on the 16th of August 1547 (Lettres de J. Calvin, recueillies

October he was warned by a brother of his in Spain, to be cautious, for a Dominican monk coming from the court of the Emperor had said that steps were taken to kidnap that heretic, whom they longed to get more than they did the landgrave of Hesse.[43]) At the end of November Franzisco was at Memmingen, which he left before the end of the year; in January 1548 we find him again at Basle,[44]) but no doubt only to arrange his affairs, for he had resolved to leave a town surrounded by kidnappers lurking in order to surprise him,[45]) and to go to England, where Melanchthon recommended him to the king as well as to archbishop Cranmer.[46]) Impatiently he awaited these letters of Melanch-

par Bonnet. Lettres françaises. Tome premier. 1854. P. 218): *J'ay corrigé en l'Epistre latine de Dryander ce que bon m'a semblé, vous suivrez ce qui vous semblera le meilleur. J'espère que vous pourrez juger qui m'a esmeu à tracer beaucoup de choses, lesquelles je ne réprouvoye point, mais me sembloient superflues, ou pour le moins qu'elles n'eussent eu nul pois vers le personaige.* I do not know to whom that letter of Enzinas was directed.

43) Epist. XXXIII.

44) Utenhoven's letter to him, 3. Jan. 1548, is directed to Basle *in aedibus viduae d. Grynei.* Probably the widow of the celebrated Simon Grynaeus. Valerandus Pollanus writes to him, 14. Febr. 1548, to Basle *apud viduam Grynaei.* John Oporinus in a letter to Valerandus Pollanus at Strassburg, 31 May 1548, says: *mitto lucernam, quam hic Fr. Dryander reliquerat et ad se mitti petierat. Aegre certe obtinere eam licuit a vidua, apud quam Franciscus habitavit.*

45) Epist. XXXVI.

46) Melanchthon Cranmero, 12. 1. 1548 (Corp. Ref. 6, 781): . . . *hic meus amicus Franciscus Dryander . . . Familiaritas ei mecum est multorum annorum. Vere servamus hoc Homericum inter nos ut hospes tanquam frater diligatur. Etiam iudicio eum complexus sum. Penitus enim perspexi eius opiniones et mores ac animadverti eum excellenti ingenio praeditum esse, et praeclare instructum eruditione et de controversiis rectissime iudicare, ac prorsus alienum esse a fanaticis et seditiosis opinionibus. Morum etiam gravitatem singularem ipse cito cognosces. Et his ornamentis tantis addit veram Dei agnitionem et invocationem . . . Usui etiam eum fore in academia aliqua arbitror . . . Teque oro ut veniam des epistolae subito effusae, quam tamen veram esse iudicabis ipse ubi Francisci ingenium, eruditionem et mores dierum aliquot consuetudo ostenderit.* On the same day he wrote to king Edward (ib. 782): *Affirmo hunc Franciscum Dryandrum longa mihi consuetudine cognitum, recte excultum esse eruditione, tum vero prudentissime iudicare de religionis controversiis, ac toto animo totaque mente a fanaticis et seditiosis opinionibus abhorrere. Quare eum in tuo regno in academia aliqua magno usui atque ornamento ecclesiae Dei esse posse existimo.* I think it was soon after these two letters that Melanchthon wrote to Joach. Camerarius (ib. 752): *Nuncium qui Basileam ibit flagitasse literas a te spero: scripsi de Hispano nostro ad regem Anglicum et ad Cantuariensem.*

thon and others from Bucer in England, he was in great trouble, so much so that he seriously wrote of leaving Christian Europe in order to found an evangelical colony in tolerant Turkey,[47]) and Bullinger thought it necessary to do his best to dissuade him. Enzinas answered from Strassburg on May 20: Thy warnings would not have been able to deter me from the journey to Constantinople, did not a more narrow tie unexpectedly detain me in this part of Europe. The unforeseen incident was his betrothal with Margaret Elter.[48]) A few days later the marriage followed, and both left for England.[49])

Archbishop Cranmer did honour to English hospitality, and gave Enzinas also a professorship of Greek at Cambridge.[50]) In this posi-

47) See this note after the biography p. 158.

48) Dryandri epist. XXXIX, my Strassburg program (below n° **150**) p. IV. — His wife was cognate with the wife of Valerandus Pollanus (who had married in January 1548. He writes to Dryander from Strassburg, 6 Febr. 1548: *Hodie mensis est quod uxorem duxi).* Valer. Pollanus Dryandro, Londino Cantabrigiam, 4 May 1549: I wish to thy wife *felix puerperium; nomine quoque uxoris meae, cognatae suae, salutem dices.* Id. eid. 29 May 1549: *Uxorem tuam, affinem carissimam, rogo meo nomine plurimum salutes.* Id. eid., 17 Aug. 1549: *omne officium tibi defero et uxori tuae dulcissimae, cognatae amantissimae . . . Uxor mea cognatae suae scripserat* [Dryandri uxori]. . . (All these letters are in the archives of S. Thomas at Strassburg).

49) Jo. Oporinus in the letter to Valer. Pollanus at Strassburg, 31 März 1548, supposes that Franc. Dryander has already left Strassburg. On the 15 of July Fr. Dr. wrote from London to Matthias Claudius, see Claudius' answer of July 31 (ms. S. Thomas, Strassburg). Jo a Lasco (op. ed. Kuyper 1866. 2, 617) writes from Emden, 19. 7. 1548: *Franciscus noster Dryander iam adest* [in Anglia].

50) Besides Enzinas' letters see Peter Martyr's letter to Joh. Utenhoven, who was still at Canterbury, dated Oxford 15. 1. 1549: *Fratres meo nomine salutes, potissimum Franciscum* [Dryandrum], *quem ut dolui aegrotasse, ita iam mihi persuadeo convaluisse* (Gerdes' *Scrinium antiquarium* t. 4, p. 666). Paulus Fagius Jo. Marbachio at Strassburg, dated Lambeth 26. 4. 1549 (Fecht. hist. eccles. supplem. 1684, epistolar. p.-10): *Plurima salute impertit te tuosque omnes d. P. Martyr, d. P. Alexander, d.* [Franc.] *Dryander, d. Antonius Gallus, d. Valerandus . . .* Bucer and Fagius wrote on the same day to the ministers at Strassburg, that they had found at Lambeth Peter Martyr, Immanuel Tremellius, Dryander and some godly Frenchmen; "all these are entertained by the archbishop" (Original letters relative to the English reformation, edited for the Parker society, by Hastings Robinson, second portion, Cambridge 1847, p. 535. From the original, written by Bucer's hand, Thomas-Archiv, Strassburg, I give the last sentence: *hos omnes fovet d. Cantuariensis).* Petrus Martyr, 1 Febr. 1549, Oxonio Cantabrigiam, Dryandro *bonarum litterarum professori.* Dryander had written him about his pro-

tion Dryander declined the offered tutorship of the duke of Suffolk.[51]) In November 1549, leaving his family under the care of Bucer[52]) at Cambridge, where he thought to return next spring, he made a journey to Basle to get some Spanish books printed.[53]) It was, however,

fessorship in the University. Martyr writes: *cuperem ut quod Reverendissimus* [archiepiscopus] *de suo tibi suppeditat, istic assignatum haberes, nimirum ex ordinariis professorum stipendiis.* Dryander, epist. XL, from Cambridge 25 March. 1549: *in hac universitate, ubi professionem habeo Graecarum literarum.* Isengrinius, 19 Apr. 1549, Francofurto Dryandro *Graecarum literarum apud Anglos professori.* Bucerus, Croidonio 2 Mai 1549 Dryandro *Graecas literas docenti Cantabrigiae.* Arn. Birkmannus 1 Jun. 1549 Dryandro *Graecarum literarum professori in acad. Cantabr.*, Colonia Cantabrigiam. Valer. Pollanus 17 Aug. 1549, ex aula apud Westmonasterium Dryandro *Graecarum literarum professori Cantabrigiae.*

51) See Peter Martyr's letters to Dryander, Jan. and Febr. 1549.

52) Bucer's continual love to Dryander is shown by some letters of 1549. In a letter from Croidon, 2 May 1549, addressed: *Vere nobili et doctissimo viro, domino Francisco Dryandro, Graecas literas docenti Cantabrigiae, domino et amico suo colendo et carissimo*, the Strassburg reformer writes: *Gratiam quam possum magnam tibi habeo, optime Dryander, pro tua erga me immensa certe caritate. Dictum mihi est, debere Paulum* [Fagium] *et me Cantabrigiam proficisci, quod, cum tu istic sis, pergratum evenit. Tuo enim consilio me facile sic gubernabis ut, si non multum gregi dominico commodem, minus tamen incommodem. Fac itaque quod facis, ama vuraque extorres, et inutiles, semper cupientes, tamen bonis prodesse.* Subscription: *Tuus totus M. Buc.* On the 19 Sept. of the same year Bucer begins a letter to the same: *Ah, mi cor.* — On 11 Oct. Bucer says: *Tu cunctos caritatis numeros adversus me implere studes. Dominus tibi id rependat.*

53) See Dryander's letters XLVI foll. John Hooper writes rather rashly to Bullinger, London 5 Febr. 1550: *Quod ad vos redit Dryander, mittite metum; sibi consulit, nec nostra plurimum curat, dempto lucro* (Epistolae Tigurinae, below here n° **147**, *p.* 49). And in Hastings Robinson's translation (here n° **146**, first portion, p. 77) the passage has become still more unfavourable to Dryander: *he consults his own interests, and cares but little for ours when gain is out of the question.* As for the *lucrum*, one would think that the professor's pay was meant by it. Dryander himself writes to Bullinger from Basle, 17 March 1550: *deserui scholam et familiam meam cum magno meo sumptu, labore et damno*, deluded by fair words, which induced him to believe that he would get promptly printed at Basle some little books. No doubt it was this business, from which the dissension with Oporinus originated, so strongly expressed in Oporin's letter of May 26. 1550 (see note 65).

It was a consolation to Dryander, to get in the same time the expressions of Melanchthon's unvaried love. Jac. Schwartz von Ruissingen writes to Dryander from Wittenberg, 20 May 1550: *Quae certiora sunt, ex literis d. Philippi cognosces qui amore dulcissimae consuetudinis tuae adductus proprium nuncium nunc mittit ut ad nos te revocet, quod si (ut speramus et optamus) effecerit, erit nobis gratissimum, venies enim universo amicorum coetui hospes expectatissimus. Vix credas, suavissime d. Francisce, quantum te diligat: nullamque diem absque tui memoria praeterlabi sinit, saepe etiam dicit, se, nisi maximis incommodis impediretur, recta*

only after the most wearisome struggle with various difficulties that translations of his from Florus and Plutarch at last appeared in Strassburg in 1550 and 51. In Basle the magistrate would not permit books to be published in *unusual* languages. In January 1550, as his life was imperilled by frequent fainting fits, he sent some one to England to fetch his family. But it was not until June that he met his wife and his little daughter at Strassburg. There they lived two years and a half[54]) in easy circumstances.[55]) A second daughter was born to them.

In the summer of 1552 he went to Geneva to see Calvin for the first time, with whom he had begun correspondence when in the

via ad te iturum esse, seque hoc unum optare ut quod reliquum est vitae, doctissimis tuis colloquiis tecum ei traducere concedatur. Tanta scilicet est naturae et ingeniorum vestrorum similitudo, quae vere (ut dicitur) τῆς φιλότητος μήτηρ ἐστί.

54) Besides his own letters see Melanchthon's. Alb. Hardebergio, 27. 7. 50 (Corp. Ref. 7, 635): *Heri allatae mihi sunt literae a Francisco Dryandro qui nunc Argentorati est cum familia.* Hedioni et Marbachio, 12. 8. 50 (ib. 643): *Francisco Dryandro salutem opto, quem propter ipsius integritatem, prudentiam et eruditionem non dubito vos vestro iudicio multo ante complexos esse.* Alb. Hardebergio, 1. 5. 52 (ib. 990): *Accepi recentes litteras a Francisco Dryandro qui narrat Argentinam tunc quidem nondum a foederatis sollicitatam fuisse ut se eis adiungeret.* Jac. Milichio, 7. 7. 52 (ib. 1024): *nuncius iturus Argentoratum . . . Scribam et ego ad meum fratrem et ad Franciscum Hispanum.* 18. 8. (ib. 1052): *Rediit ex Argentorato nuncius . . . scribit frater: . . .* — Conrad Gesner Nic. Gerbelio at Strassburg 15. 2. 51. (Fecht l. c. epistolar. p. 858) sends salutations to Dryander the Spaniard.

55) Jo. Frisius Francisco Dryandro 28. Jul. 1550 Tiguro Argentinam: *Habes hic, amicorum optime, quod dudum a me petiisti, verum quod tardius illud mitto culpa in me non est rejicienda, sed potius in ipsum sculptorem qui aliis occupatus negotium hucusque distraxit. Duos iam tuae imaginis numos fusos mittit, tertium mihi ipsi servavi in tui memoriam, sic enim mihi pollicitus es, sed dabo operam ne te in ingratum contulisse existimes. Valorem ipsius argenti ex ipsius chirographo cognosces. Nam praeter argentum nihil computavit, cum tamen horum trium numorum facturae pretium fere ad 1 fl. ascendat. Dein pro ipsa sculptura plane nihil petiit, sed tuam liberalitatem (cum sit ars libera) expectare voluit. Nullo enim inquit pretio potuisset adduci ad hunc laborem subeundum, si non ingenium tuum liberum cognovisset. Quare cum ita sit, facile erit iudicare quid illi sit dandum. De poculo nobis aliquid certi scribe, nam tibi libenter morem geret. Vale, amicorum optime. Saluta nostrum Frisium* [scil. Augustinum]. . . Jo. Frisius Francisco Dryandro 29 Aug. 1550 Tiguro Argentoratum: *Non dubito quin argenteos numos dudum acceperis. . . Artificem nostrum de poculo conveni; is se facturum insigne et mirabili artificio, praesertim si historia Isaaci huic inseritur, pollicitus est . . . . . hoc me addere iussit ut illi ad 15 aut 20 Coronatos mittas ad rei confirmationem.* Both letters are in the Thomas archives, Strassburg.

house of Melanchthon.[56]) There remained however at last rather a variance between Calvin and Dryander.[57]) In the autumn Dryander was at Augsburg.[58]) On the 30th of December 1552 Franzisco Enzinas died at Strassburg, from a pestilence then raging there. John Marbach preached the funeral sermon.[59]) Down to his last weeks the horrors of the war roundabout were doubled for him by the continued hostile devices of relatives.[60]) His wife died some weeks after him. Melanchthon, whom he always had venerated as a father, and who called him his dear brother,[61]) wished to take care of one of the daughters, but the Strassburg friends did not wish to part with them.[62])

56) See Enzinas' epistolas. Besides Melanchthon Calvino, 1. 10. 52 (Corp. Ref. 7, 1085): *vivo ὥσπερ ὄνος ἐν σφηκιαῖς . . . Audio Franc. Dryandrum hac aestate apud te fuisse . . . si cedendum erit ex his locis, colloqui tecum decrevi . . . Si voles mihi scribere, poteris literas Franc. Dryandro mittere.*

57) See Calvin's last letter to him beginning *Si tibi hactenus molesta.*

58) On the 28 of Sept. Sleidanus writes to him from Strassburg to Augsburg, on the 25 of Nov. Occo writes to him from Augsburg to Strassburg. Melanchthon addresses on the 5 of October *Dryandro, Argentinae vel Argentorati* (Corp. Ref. ib. 1098), and writes on the same day *Hencelio, consuli Augustano,* (ib.): *Ubicunque scies esse Franciscum Dryandrum, quaeso ut ei meam epistolam exhiberi cures. Vir est integerrimus et tibi familiariter notum et commendatum esse optarim.*

59) The 21 Dec. is given as the day of his death in Pauli Eberi *calendar. histor.* 1571, p. 404. Item by Abr. Bucholzer in the *Index chronolog.* behind the *Isagoge chronol.* 1596. But I found the following notice in the autograph *Diarium Johannis Marbachii* [in the Archive of S. Thomas, Strassburg]: *1552 . . . Den 30 Decemb: ist peste gottselig gestorben D. Franciscus Dryander Hispanus, excellenti doctrina, et morum ac vitae integritate optimum habens testimonium. Sequenti die honeste sepultus est, in magna civium copia, funebrem orationem ipse habui.* On that pestilence compare Dryander's epist. LXI.

60) Epist. LXI: *Accedunt nobis quoque privata pericula proditionis et insidiarum, quas propter odium doctrinae nobis tendunt etiam consanguinei.*

61) Epist. XL: *patri carissimo.* Melanchthonis letter of 24 April 1551 is addressed: *Clarissimo viro, eruditione et virtute praestanti d. Francisco Dryandro, fratri suo carissimo.* The biographer of Melanchthon, Joachim Camerarius, who knew Dryander personally and remained in correspondence with him, makes mention *externorum quoque hominum, cum quibus singularis usus aliquis et eximia familiaritas Philippo Mel. intercessit,* and, after having spoken of such friends from other countries, he speaks, as for Spain, only of Dryander, saying (p. 341) *Ex Hispania habuit secum virum gravem admodum constantemque et fortem in iis asserendis defendendisque quae vera atque recta esse discendo comperisset. Eum nominabant Franciscum Dryandrum* (continuation see note 1 here).

62) Melanchthon Henr. Mollero, March 1553 (Corp. Ref. 8, 59): *Duos amisimus amicos: Erasmum Salveldensem . . . et Franciscum Hispanum Argentorati mortuum, quos propter studia et ecclesiam doleo tam cito ex hac statione abductos*

A year or two before his death he wrote to a friend: "I am working with good conscience, God be my witness. If the people of this time will not thank me, I hope there will come others in the future of better judgment, to whom our studies shall not be useless." [63]) His last care was to prepare the edition of his Bible-work, at which he had been studying fifteen years.[64])

esse. Jo. Marbachio, 13. 3. 53 (ib. 47 sq.): *De Francisci Dryandri morte iam ad me scripserant amici ex urbe Norica. Itaque de uxore et filiabus eram sollicitus. Tuae literae narrant et uxoris mortem. Nec dubito vobis orphanos curae fore . . . Etsi nos iterum nova exilia expectamus propter bella, tamen unam ex filiabus ad me transvehi velim, nisi alibi melius collocatae sunt. Significabis igitur mihi et quomodo alantur et quid tibi videatur de meo consilio.* To the same, 26. 8. 53 (ib. 144): *Quod pie filias Francisci Dryandri nutriri et educari curatis, Deo gratum officium est, et tibi gratiam habeo quod id mihi significasti; ubique eas commendo.* Cf. my Strassburg program of 1872, p. IV and 12. 13.

63) Epist. LVIII.

64) Epist. LXI and Calvin's answer.

Appended notes.

21) *for p. 142. Franzisco de San Roman.*

The writer of the following is that minister of the gospel who as Franzisco de Enzinas tells in his memoir, was the divine instrument for the evangelical conversion of Franzisco de San Roman. The ms. is in the Thomas-archive at Strassburg. Jacobus *[Spreng]* Probest, Minister Evang. Bremae, Francisco Dryandro, Brema Wittenbergam, sabbato post Epiphaniae 1546: *The Lord will smash the Antichrist also in Spain.* Sanguis fratris nostri Francisci clamat nec sine fructu clamabit. Ego miser habui illum thesaurum, Franciscum scilicet, in domo mea, quem ignoravi, ut satis attendi, nunc autem fracta corporis lagena per Antichristi ministros, aliquid adoro et gratiam Dei adoro. Ebrius fuit spiritu Domini, qui tamen parum bibisse videbatur; ego, proh dolor! adhuc avidus sum et ieiunus, qui in abundantia bibere videor. Contempsit mundum, vitam suam et omnia propter Christum, quem induerat et apprehenderat fide, et constantissime nullum timens praedicavit: testatur gloriosa ipsius mors, qua glorificavit Deum, et migravit ad vitam in infinitum meliorem quam reliquit. Qui deposuit tabernaculum sui corporis et victis tormentis quiescit in cubili suo, expectans in summa securitate et dulcissima requie adventum Domini nostri Jesu Christi, per quem vicit tormenta, mortem, Satanam principem eius, mundum et omnia mala. Nec dubito quin ipsius confessio tam constans multorum corda movebit, eritque sanguis eius effusus semen ecclesiae adhuc apud Hispanos plantandae. Nos autem vere dicere possumus illud Augustini: surgunt indocti et rapiunt caelum, nos vero tardi, frigidi et fere inutiles sumus. Indoctus, imo insanus reputatus a mundo, at coram angelis et in ecclesia Dei doctus et praeclarus est. Mirabilis certe Deus in sanctis et electis suis. S. Jacobus ab Herode occisus est, Petrus ab eodem captus est ut occideretur, sed miraculo praeclaro liberatus est, et in utroque Christus glorificatus est, in S. Jacobi morte pretiosa, in Petri liberatione mirabili. Ita b. Franciscus Hispanus ab impiis captus

Christum morte confessus est, Franciscus Dryander ex carcere liberatus est, Hispanis et impiis sophistis aliud cogitantibus; ut sic praedicetur Christus et innotescat per Franciscum b., cuius sanguis praedicat, et per Franciscum liberatum, qui lingua et vita eundem praedicat et praedicabit, impiis frementibus et in suis sordibus pereuntibus. Nec ob aliud arbitreris te liberatum quam ut liberatorem tuum praedices et glorifices, et ecclesiam Christi sanguine acquisitam iuves, quam draco cupit devorare; precorque tibi benedictionem Dei largam ut velis et possis.

37) *for p. 147. Jaime Enzinas' death.*

Frid. Swartz de Ruissingen Francisco Dryandro 20. Jan. 1547: Audivi ex dno Philippo fratrem tuum combustum, quo ipso adeo sum consternatus acsi de aliquo meorum intimorum esset aliquid tale factum. Quandoquidem tamen in pia confessione obiit, non solum non dolendum, sed potius gratulandum ei iudico. *Melanchthon wrote a letter of consolation on this loss to Franzisco, towards the end of January 1547, on the 23 or 27, the copies vary* (Corp. Ref. 6, 372.) *Calvin's letter to the same on the same occasion is dated 14. 4. 1547. Sigism. Gelous Pannonius Francisco Dryandro, Patavio Basileam, 25 Apr. 1547:* Etsi supervacaneum videtur ad te scribere quod sine dubio iam a multis accepisti de tristissima nostri Jacobi calamitate, vel potius, si recte rem aestimes, de ingenti gloria, tamen, ne de nostra necessitudine quippiam decessisse videretur, volui tuae petitioni satisfacere. Scito igitur Jacobum ante Liberalia in frequentissima circumstantium spectatorum corona immolatum esse. Modum ac rei gestae seriem scribere non possum, quia Arnoldus properat nec adhuc certo cognovi. *It would seem, therefore, that Jaime died on the 16 of March 1547, and that the former news had only anticipated the catastrophe. Balthasar Altieri writes to Franc. Dryander, Venice 22 June 1547:* De fratre tuo, qui nun cum Christo aeternae hereditatis gloria fruitur, nihil adhuc scire potui praeter gloriosissimum mortis exitum pro confessione evangelii constantissimum. *(Before this letter, in the same summer, Altieri wrote to Franc. Dryander:* De fratre tuo quod scire cupis, nihil certi habeo, ac valde miror quomodo Lucensis ille tibi affirmare pot[u]erit, se a me percepisse, fuisse Romae combustum, cum nunquam id dixerim. *The four Latin letters, from which I have made the foregoing extracts, are in the Thomas-archives at Strassburg).*

Recveil de plvsievrs personnes, qvi ont constamment enduré la mort, pour le nom du Seigneur. Par Jean Crespin, M. D. LVI. *P. 324—5:* . . . N. Dryander: celuy qui premierement enseigna ledict *[Jean]* Diaze. Ainsi donc qu'il estoit à Rome, on il demeura quelques années contre son vouloir, seulement pour obeir et complaire aux sottes affections de ses parens: il fut pris par les gens mesmes de sa nation, sur l'heure qu'il se preparoit pour aller en Allemagne vers son frere, nommé François Dryander, qui l'appeloit là. Et incontinent il fut serré en une estroicte prison. Puis apres il fut interrogué de sa foy, devant une grande assemblée de gens d'apparence, et en la presence de tous les Cardinaux et Evesques, qui pour lors residoyent à Rome. Et là il maintint d'une grande constance et hardiesse la vraye doctrine de l'Evângile: et condamna ouvertement les impietez et tromperies diaboliques du grand Antechrist Romain. Tout incontinent non seulement les Cardinaux, mais aussi ceux qui estoyent là de sa nation, commencerent à crier à haute voix, qu'on le devoit brusler. Pour conclusion, ces defenseurs et ministres furieux de toute impieté et cruauté barbare firent tant par leurs efforts, qu'ils firent finir la vie à ce bon serviteur de Dieu par martyre glorieux: qui a esté admirable en la ville de Rome, au milieu de toute impieté, l'an 1546, tost apres la mort du

susdict Jean Diaze. *The* Acta martyrvm, apud Jo. Crispinvm M. D. LVI., *which, according to the introduction, are translated by Claude Baduellus from the French, say, under* N. Driander, *after having spoken of Juan Diaz's martyrdom, p. 330:* Hunc non multo post ex eadem natione Hispanus et magister eius in religione Christiana, sequutus est Driander. *Ends:* post mortem Joannis Diazii eius discipuli. *The second Latin edition:* Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum. Genevae, Joannes Crispinvs. M. D. LX. *under* N. Enzinas. *have this passage fol. 151:* quum multis suae nationis hominibus ea quam a Deo acceperat Evangelii luce praeluxisset ac profuisset, (in quorum numero fuit Joannes Diazius cuius historiam superiori libro contexuimus) alio tandem a Domino evocatus fuit . . . *(to Rome). This second Latin text, not the first one, has the following addition after* comburendum esse, *fol. 151—2:* plerique Cardinalium ut hominis constantiam frangerent, antequam mortis sententia ferretur, hanc illi conditionem proposuerunt, ut Hispaniensi more eam reconciliatorum notam acciperet, quae a San-benito panno nomen habet. *After a notice on form and use of the Sanbenitos it continues:* Ipse vero Enzinas nullam conditionem accipere voluit, contentus ea unica quam adeo nobilem illi Dominus tum proponebat: nempe ut sanguine suo testatam redderet verae religionis doctrinam. *The article ends:* post Diazij mortem, *without* eius discipuli. Actes des martyrs, Crespin 1565, *p. 271 on* Enzinas *(here, as in the editions of 1582. 1608. 1619. the* N *before his name is left out, nor is any Christian name of him mentioned):* ce fut luy qui premierement enseigna le dict Diaze. *The passage of the Latin between* brusler *and* Pour conclusion *is not found here, nor at the end words corresponding to* eius discipuli. *The article on this brother of Franzisco in Ludov. Rabus'* Historie der Martyrer, *t. 2, 1572, fol 708—709, would appear to be founded on Crispin's martyrologies; there is no Christian name mentioned of this Dryander, who is also there called the teacher of Juan Diaz, his disciple. — Theod. Beza:* Icones, *Genevae 1580 [Halle Univ.], fol.* Kk. ij: Joannes Ensinas, sive Dryander, Hispanus. Joannes Dryander in ipsa urbe Roma bestiam illam singulari magnitudine animi aliquoties in privatis coetibus detegere et redarguere aggressus, quum Joannem Diasium, quem Christo lucrifecerat, et fratrem Franciscum Dryandrum, a quibus in Germaniam evocabatur, invisere statuisset, ab aliis quibusdam Hispanis proditum, pontifex ipse Cardinalibus suis stipatus quum videre et audire voluisset, sustinere diutius sanctam ipsius libertatem non potuit. Itaque ad vim conversus innocentissimum hominem cremandum anno Domini 1545. curavit, paulo ante videlicet quam Alphonsus Diasius adiuncto ipsi carnifice, ad fratrem Joannem Diasium interficiendum Roma in Germaniam ablegaretur. *(This date no doubt is erroneous.) And in the notice on Juan Diaz fol.* Kk. iii.: a Joanne Dryandro cognitione Christi imbutus et Genevae confirmatus. *In this book of Beza for the first time I find him called* Joannes, *whilst the preceding relations only put an* N *before the patronymic,* which letter, *says M'Crie (p. 180),* merely intimates that the writer of the article was ignorant of the martyr's Christian name. *Gerdes* hist. reform. *t. 3. 1749 p. 165 calls him* Nicolaus, *quoting for his martyrdom:* Martyrol. parv. Lat. p. 321 et magn. Gall. fol. 159^{b}. *I think with M'Crie, the name Nicolas has sprung gratuitously from the* N. *of Crispin's Acts, and the name John I think a misinterpretation of a J meaning James.*

47) *for p. 151. The gospel in Turkey.*

Dryandri epist. XXXVII. — Compare Juan Diaz's letter dated 9 Febr. 1546, published by me in the Strassburg University program of December 1872 [*here*

n° 150] *p. 7. 8. — Bucer writes from Ratisbon, 12 March 1546, to the ministers of the church of Strassburg (a copy of this letter is among Bucer's letters in the Thomas-Archiv):* Res certe in Italia et Germania ita instituuntur ut appareat Deum patrem nostrum caelestem statuisse nos severiore aliqua exploratione probare. Interim tamen et in Hungaria passim Euangelion Christi publice recipitur, maxime in locis quibus imperant Turcae. In ipsa quoque Constantinopoli iam Euangelion Christi pure praedicatur nostris hominibus, et sacramenta instituto Christi praebentur: id compertum habemus etiam per eos qui ibi haec audierunt et una mensa Domini communicarunt. — *Extract from a letter to Melanchthon. The autograph was* in Mon. Ulstet., *now burnt. A copy is in the Thomas archives, Strassburg, in the* Varia ad hist. eccl. Argent. a Jac. Wencker collecta, *vol. 1, fol. 264 and 265.* Video Christum potenter dominari in medio inimicorum suorum. Nam quod scribis te putare, non minorem esse servitutem Christianorum in Belgio quam sub Turcis, scito in jurisdictione Turcorum ubique libere praedicari evangelium, ut summum Dei beneficium esse dicas quod has terras a barbaris subjugari permiserit. Etsi enim corpora serviunt, certe evangelii magna lux affulsit, et est amplissima libertas spiritus, quam nostri reges, si rerum potirentur, armis et castris impedirent. Benedictus Abaeli, homo integerrimus et egregie doctus, qui ante annum isthic ordinatus est in Zeged, quae civitas est opulentissima et maxima ad Tiscam sita, et in schola et in templo magno cum favore Bassae docet, adeo us nuper in quadam disputatione ipse Bassa monachis silentium indixerit, quos non secus ac moriones habet, ac minatus est se eos ex urbe ejecturum. Quod ego et fama praenunciante et non ita multo post ex ipsis Benedicti literis certo cognovi. Stephanus Legedinus, qui aliquamdiu Wittebergae bonis artibus operam navavit, concionatur in oppido Ciglod, quod octo milliariis infra Budam Turci tenent. Emericus, qui nuper isthinc rediit, recta se Tolnam contulit, quae jacet in ulteriori ripa Danubii et Turcico praesidio onerata est. Denique licet unicuique doctori scholastico concionatori transire in illorum partes et docere ubicunque velit, sive in ludis sive in templis. Nec praemium consuetum docentibus diminuitur. Verum ego vereor nonnihil ne hostes eo tantum libertatem concedant ut populum ad se alliciant, qui, quia verbi divini est cupidissimus, eo confluit ubi illud pure ac sincere doceri audit. Nec illi tam dementes sunt ut silvis et desertis imperare velint, ut ea loca, quae armis subegerint et sanguine suo perceperint, deseri a colonis patiantur. Hominum frequentia gaudent. *Ἀλλὰ ἐκεῖνος Παῦλος χαίρει εἴτε προφάσει εἴτε ἀληθείᾳ Χριστὸς καταγγέλλεται.* Hanc tamen suspicionem illud infirmat quod in ipsa Turcia multi Christum annunciant. Franciscus Picus Hungarus Zegodinus nunc Galatae nunc Constantinopoli in magna auditorum frequentia docet; alitur a Gallico oratore et ab aliis Christianis qui ibi vel serviunt vel negociantur. Stephanus Majlates Vaida Transsylvanus ceu alter Manasses compedibus vinctus in carcere Constantinopolitano cum Valentino Tervo concaptivo suo tenetur; audit quotidie bonas et evangelicas conciones, nuper scripsit ad uxorem Christianissimam confessionem et eam causa gloriae Christi orat ut permittat reformari ecclesias in sua jurisdictione. . . Eperies, ipso die natali Christi 1546. Sigismundus Geleus. *Read* Gelous. *Some letters of him to Franc. Dryander, see catalogued below. A letter of Melanchthon of 1559, printed* Corp. Reform. *9, 822, is directed:* Sigism. Geloo praefecto regio in urbe Eperies.

65) *Editorial plans of Franciscus Dryander.*

Extracts from letters (Thomas-archives). Jo. Oporinus writes to Fr. Dryander, 10. Aug. 1548: . . . De libro tuo Hispanico quem a me excudi volebas, quid fieri tan-

dem velis, per occasionem significabis. Non desinit autem me hortari D. Arnoldus Birckmannus, bibliopola Antuerpiensis, ut, si tu nomine tuo emittere illud velis, suo uti sumptu id cures; atque idem de Livio quoque Hispanico me sollicitat an suis sumptibus excudere velis. *Arnold Byrkmann to the same, 15. Febr. 1549, Antuerpia Cantabrigiam:* quod probas conatum meum in imprimendis libris Hispanicis gaudeo, ac pro tua opera, quam mihi offers, gratiam habeo immortalem. Porro quod de Bibliis amplectendis scribis, nihil mihi contingere posset optatius quam si hoc officio tuae genti mihi gratificari liceret. Sed quia ipse nosti quantopere vestri Principes hoc opus abhorreant, quamque sit cum periculo coniunctum, non possum tibi in eo assentiri ut Biblia imprimenda suscipiam nisi tu mihi viam commonstraveris privilegium pro iis apud Caesarem impetrandi ... Quod ad reliqua exemplaria *[viz. manuscripts of other works]* attinet quae apud te esse scribis neque pauca neque levis momenti, si ea mihi credere volueris, ego operam dabo ut quam diligentissime et fidelissime imprimantur, tibique pro tuo labore et industria, quam in haec opera contulisti, quantum voles liberaliter persolvam .... cum Joanne Frellonio diligenti typographo Lugduni egi, ut is in communem nostrum usum unum prelum Hispanicae linguae destinaret, quod ille et diligenter et fideliter facere coepit et omnia bene parata habet. Per hunc quidquid fuerit exemplarium curabo ut summa fide in lucem emittatur. De Tito Livio quod scribis, iam diu est quod me ad illum imprimendum Georgius Stequer instigavit idque communibus sumptibus. Quare ego de hoc cum Oporino Basileae egi, et non dubito quin pro ea amicitia, quam cum Georgio constitutam habes, exemplar nobis sis bene tersum et emendatum missurus; quod ubi receperimus, de correctore commodo dispiciemus, et prelo committendum cum primis curabimus, iis characteribus quibus vitae Caesarum sunt impressae, quos spero vestris hominibus gratos fore. *Isingrinius Francisco Dryandro, Francofurto 19. Apr. 1549:* Pactum de Hispanico herbario imprimendo, iam olim inter nos factum, ratum volo, hac tamen lege, ne Latini herbarii magnitudinem transcendat; quod si eveniat, aequo pretio quod accreverit aestimabitur. *Fabianus Prulenus Francisco Dryandro, Zerbesto 16. Jan. 1547:* peto ut viridarium meum ad me remittas aut tu ipse adferas. *Arn. Birkmann to Dryander, 4. Jul. 1549, Londino Cantabrigiam:* Dictionarii tui specimen Lugdunum misi, sed eiusdem excusum exemplar nondum mihi est remissum. De bono successu in imprimendis libris Hispanicis non diffido. Si modo corrector aliquis nobis posset contingere, cuius opera Basileae utamur et in Livio et in Herbario et libris aliis maioribus qui his subiungi poterunt, neque in ulla re magis quam hac laboramus in hoc tempore. Efficiam tamen quantum per me poterit fieri diligenti et assidua investigatione ut alicuius tandem nobis copia fiat. Qua in re si nos consilio et autoritate tua tu iuvare posses, facere nobis rem vehementer gratam. Interim minorum librorum imprimendorum periculum aliquod Lovanii fieri posset, ubi, licet non sit ea copia rerum omnium quae ad typographiam spectant qualis est Basileae, nihilominus tamen hoc praestari poterit ut libri diligenter et emendate et mediocriter etiam ornate excudantur. *Jo. Oporinus Conrado Huberto, 1550 postridie pentecostes [26. May], Basilea Argentinam:* De Fr. Dryandro quid agat hic tamdiu nescio. Videtur aliquid manuscriptum edere [*reading uncertain*]. Ego illi valedixi certis de causis, neque mihi deinceps velim esse cum eo quicquam negotii, imo nunquam illum mihi cognitum malim. Conduxi operam Augustini Frisii typographi Tigurini quem Tiguro huc vocarat, sed quia magistratus noster vetuit omnibus typographis ne cuiquam alia lingua quicquam excudere deinceps liceat quam illis

quatuor quibus hactenus a multis annis est solitum, videlicet Latina Graeca Hebraica Germanica, non potuit ille Dryandri typographus locum habere apud nos. Itaque ad vos proficiscitur, ibi (ut audio) libere omnia omnibus linguis imprimitis. Ego quod alii imprimunt nescio, id autem negotii Gastio tradam ut ad te scribat. *(It is therefore so much the more unlikely that it was Oporinus who in the same year printed the Italian Considerations of Valdés. Cf. appendix to the German Considerations p. 354). Jo. Gastius Huberto 19 Jun. 1550, Basilea:* Rescribe de Francisco Dryandro an illi permissum ut apud vos officinam instituere possit Hispanicam, nam nostri id recusarunt homini certis ex causis. *Arnold Byrkmann to Franciscus Dryander, Argentinam;* Postremum folium quod in Livio misisti vidi, arbitror opus nunc absolutum fore. Id si ita est, dabis exemplaria nostra Josiae, sicut Argentinae tibi in mandatis dedi, et curabis ut diligenter collationentur ne quid mancum ad nos mittatur. Praefationem antequam edas postulat Stecherus ut ad ipsum mittas, quam inspicere cupit ante editionem. Titulo libri meum symbolum appones quod tibi reliqui et meo nomine excusum scribes. Reliqua ex Stechero cognosces quia alio vocor. *The letter has no date; it must have been written towards the middle of the year 1550. The writer says:* mercator ... aderit ad festum Johannis Argentinae. *For the botanical work Franzisco Enzinas wrote to Luis Nuñez, Dr. of medecine, asking him for Spanish names of plants. Nuñez says in his answer (in the Thomas archives): it would be a difficult task,* siquidem non magna locorum intercapedine aliis aliter eadem herba pronuncietur; *he would, however, do his best. Neither Franzisco de Enzinas (Dryander) nor Luis Nuñez is mentioned in Colmeiro's work* La botánica y los botánicos de la península Hispano-Lusitana, Madrid 1858. *Under nº 481 is found there:* Historia de las yerbas y plantas, sacada de Dioscoride Anazarbeo y otros insignes autores, con los nombres griegos, latinos y españoles, traducida nuevamente en español. Por Jarava (Juan), Ambéres, por los herederos de Byrcman, 1557. *Colmeiro adds:* El original es de Fuchsio, y la traduccion es de interés por contener muchos nombres españoles de plantas.

66) *In order to prevent further confusion arising from an error of M'Crie* (Reform. in Spain *p. 177 f.;* Rf. Españ. *t. 20, p. 169*), *I state that John Dryander, the author of several works on natural science, especially astronomical and anatomical, during the second third of the sixteenth century, was not a brother of this Franzisco Enzinas, but belonged to a German family Eichmann, and was born at Wetter in Hesse on June 27. 1500, became in 1535 professor at the University of Marburg, and died as such on December 20. 1560. See, on him and his books, Strieder:* Grundlage zu einer Hessischen Gelehrten und Schriftsteller Geschichte, *third vol. 1783, p. 237 f.; 4th vol. 1784, p. 538. 539; 10th vol. 1795, p. 380; 12th vol. 1799, p. 348. That catalogue of his writings could however still be enlarged. Probably a brother of this professor Dryander is meant in two passages of letters of Melanchthon to Joach. Camerarius of November 1543. On the 11th Mel. writes* (Corp. Ref. *5, 237*): Sed haec coram. Iam enim interpellat Dryandri frater, qui satis commode vendidit hic suas machinas. *And on the 29th (ib. 239):* Dryandri, qui etsi non ut Vulcanus in Achillis clypeo, nec ut Archimedes in automatis, caeli orbes et sidera, sed tamen ut in hac barbarie, ubi praemia his rebus nulla sunt, mediocriter imitatur, longiusculam epistolam dedi, seu querelam potius, quam tibi exhibitam esse spero. *Speaking of Enzinas, Melanchthon then would have written* Franciscus Hispanus noster.

Catalogue of letters written to Franciscus Dryander.

Dr. Charles Schmidt, at that time professor of theology at the University of Strassburg, wrote to M. Campan, the editor of Enzinas' Mémoires *(preface to t. 1, p. XVII): [aux archives du séminaire protestant de Strasbourg]* nous avons une centaine de lettres qui lui ont été adressées par diverses personnes dans les années 1543 à 1552; elles ont été recueillies, sans doute, après son décès par son ami Conrad Hubert. *At present, however, they are scattered in eleven volumes; and there are besides some unbound ones. I have made the following chronological catalogue. All letters are autograph, except Eber's of 26 May 1550, which is a copy. Most of these letters are found in the nine volumes of* epistolae variorum, *which are quoted here with the numbers I to IX. The arrangement of the collection is alphabetical, according to the initials of the names of the writers. Vol.* I. *contains A. B,* II *C—E,* III *F,* IV *G,* V *H—L,* VI *M N,* VII *O P,* VIII *Q -S,* IX *T—Z. The Arabic number means the piece in the volume; the pieces of volumes VI and VII are not numbered. Some other letters are contained in the* Epistolae Bucerianae, *vol. II. and III. Moreover some letters unbound in drawer 21; these I have signed here with the simple number 21. The bracketed names and dates are not sound in the originals; of course, some of my conjectures and conclusions may be corrected or more closely defined by a scholar who could spend still more time on those papers. The dates, often expressed in the old Roman stile or in the ecclesiatical, are reduced by me to our modern custom. Most of the letters are directed to* Dryander; *where the name* Enzinas *occurs, I have noticed it here.*

Usóz, in the Documentos *appended to* vol. *XX of the* Reformistas, *p. 114—119, has given extracts from the letters of 31th Jan. 1546 (which letter he, no doubt according to his information from Strassburg, ascribes to Arnold Birkmann, whils' I decidedly think it written by Jo. Sleidanus), 11th Febr. 1547, 16th Febr. 1547, that of Peter Alexander from Heidelberg* a prinzipios de Abril (?), del año 1547, *the undated one of Altieri 1547, and a Spanish translation of the letter of 30th Nov. 1547; in the same time he shows knowledge of letters of Matth. Claudius from Sangall and other places.*

1543.	Aug. 1.	Sigism. Gelous, Pannonius, Lovanio	IV. 127.
—	Sept. 11.	„ „ , Francoforto	IV. 128.
[154.]		Antonius Schorus, Hochstratanus, „docto et probo adolescenti, Francisco Dryandro", Argentina Vitebergam	V. 73.
1545	Apr. 7.	Sigism. Torda, Pannonius, Vratislavia	IX. 107
—	— 30.	Regnerus Praedinius Dryandro „to Wittēberich"	VIII. 80.
—	Jun. 10.	Christoph. Jonas, Kœnigsberga in Prussia Witebergam	V. 131.
—	Dec. 28.	Ezardus, comes orientalis Frisiae, Stichusa	II. 220.
1546	Jan. 4.	Christophorus, comes orient. Frisiae, Stichusa	II. 87.
[—]	— 9.	Jacobus [Spreng] Probest, Brema Wittebergam	VII. 21.
[—]	— 31.	[Jo. Sleidanus] Antuerpia Wittembergam	
[—]	Mart. 9.	Petrus Alexander Francisco Enzinas, Heidelberga Witebergam	I. 14.
—	Apr. 1.	[Sigism. Torda], Posonio [Vitebergam]	21.
[—]	Dec. 29.	[Ezardus, comes orient. Frisiae] Stichusa [Basileam]	21.

1546 Dec. 31	Matthias Claudius, Sangallo Basileam	II. 93.
[—]	[Bucerus, Basileam]	Buc. II. 137.
[1547]	Petrus Alexander Francisco N., [Heidelberga] Basileam	I. 15.

He has received a copy of the Historia Diazii.

[—]	Jacobus a Burgundia [Falesius]	I. 271.

Both, Dryander and Jac. a Burg. seem to have been at Basle, when the letter was written.

— Jan. 16.	Fabianus Prulenus, Zerbesto	VII.
— — 20.	Fridericus Swartz de Ruissingen	VIII. 164.
— Febr. 6.	Jo. Oporinus, Basilea [S. Gallum]	VII.
— — 11.	Vitus Theodoricus, Noriberga S. Gallum	VIII. 184.
[— —]	[Matth. Claudius, Sangallo Basileam. *King Henry VIII. of England died recently*]	21.
— — 28.	Matth. Claudius [„Clodius"], Sangallo Basileam	II. 94.
[—] Mart. 22.	„ „ , Augusta	II. 107.
— Apr. 6.	Jo. Frisius, Tiguro Basileam „in aedibus Oporini"	III. 368.
— — 25.	Sigism. Gelous, Patavio Basileam „aut ubicunque locorum fuerit"	IV. 126.
— Mai 6.	Matth. Claudius, Augusta Basileam	II. 95.
— — 18.	Jo. Calvinus, Geneva [Basileam]	21.
— — 29.	Matth. Claudius, Augusta Basileam	II. 96.
— „aestate"	[ante d. 22. Jun.] Balthasar Alterius, Venetiis Basileam	I. 54.
— Jun. 22.	„ „ „ „	I. 55.
— — 23.	Bucerus	Buc. III. 145
— Jul. 6.	„	Buc. III. 142.
— — 27.	Hieron. Schreyber, Patavio	VIII. 141.
— — 29.	Ulric. Sitzinger, Viteberga Basileam	VIII. 197
— Aug. 16.	Bartholom. Sailer, Augusta Basileam	VIII. 115.
[—] — —	Antonius Sailer „ „	VIII. 116.
— — 22.	Petrus Martyr, Argentorato Basileam	21.
[—] — 24.	Ulr. Sitzinger, Augusta Basileam	VIII. 194.
— Oct. 5.	Petrus Martyr, Basileam	21.
— — 9.	Jo. Hoperus, Basileam	21.
1547 — 22.	Seb. Theobaldus	IX. 22.
— — 25.	Matth. Claudius, Memminga	II. 97.
— Nov. 26.	Besolt, Noriberga Basileam	I. 84.
— — 30.	[Budaeus], Geneva [Basileam]	21.
[—] Dec. 17.	Franciscus Perrucellus al. Parapotamius, Basileam	VII.
— — 20.	Ulr. Sitzinger, Viteberga	VIII. 195.
— — 21.	Franc. Perrucellus, Basileam	VII.
— — 22.	Sam. Sitzinger, Viteberga	VIII. 196.
— — 31.	Matth. Claudius, Memminga Basileam	II. 100.
1548 [Jan. initio]	Bucerus „Dem Erbarn frantz eichman" [Basileam].	Buc. III. 146.
— — 3.	Joan. Utenhovius, Argentorato Basileam	IX. 143.
— — 22.	[Petrus Alexander, Basileam]	21.

[1548] Jan. 23.	[Joan. Guinterius] Andrenacus, Argentina Basileam	I. 26.
— Febr. 6.	Valerandus Pollanus, Argentina Basileam	VII.
— — 14.	„ „ , Basileam	VII.
[—] Mart. 30.	Seb. Theobaldus „Veriss. Christi Confessori d. Dryandro“	IX. 24.
— Mai 7.	Ulr. Sitzinger, Witemberga in Angliam	VIII. 198.
[— Jun.]	Seb. Theobaldus	IX. 29.
— — 27.	Val. Pollanus, Argentina	VII.
— Jul. 31.	Matth. Claudius, Augusta Londinum	II. 98.
— Aug. 10.	Jo. Oporinus, Basilea in Angliam	VII.
— Sept. 5.	[Bucerus in Angliam]	21.
— — 21.	Jo. a Lasco, Cantabrigiam	V. 147.
[—] Nov. 12.	Matth. Claudius, Augusta Cantabrigiam	II. 105.
— Dec. 2.	Jo. Andreas a Croaria, Oxonio Cantabrigiam	II. 132.
— — 24.	Matth. Claudius, Augusta „	II. 99.
— — 26.	Victorin Strigelius Francisco Fracois [= Dryandro?], Erfordia Basileam	VIII. 225.
1548 aut 49]	Reynerus Wolff, Cantabrigiam	IX. 222.
[—]	Jacob. Haddonus, [in Anglia scribit. Cantabrigiam?]	21.
1549 Jan. 3.	Petrus Martyr, Oxonio [Cantabrigiam]	21.
— Febr. 1.	„ „ , Oxonio Cantabrigiam	21.
— — 15.	Arnold. Byrkmannus, Antuerpia Cantabrigiam	I. 95.
— Mart. 19.	Matth. Claudius, Augusta „	II. 101.
— Apr. 3.	Joan. Birckmannus [Arnoldi frater], Londino Cantabrigiam	I. 93.
— [— 19]	die parasceves. Isingrinius, Francofurto „	II. 214.
— Mai 2.	Bucerus, Croidonio Cantabrigiam	Buc. III. 158.
— — 4.	Val. Pollanus, Londino Cantabrigiam	VII.
— — 7.	Joan. Birckmannus, „ „	I. 94.
— — 22.	Matth. Claudius, Antuerpia	II. 102.
— — 24.	Valer. Pollanus „ Cantabrigiam	VII.
— Jun. 1.	Arnold Birkmannus, Colonia „	I. 96.
— — 20.	Valer. Pollanus, Argentina „	VII.
[—] — —	Seb. Castalio, Basilea in Angliam	II. 69.
— — 28.	Joh. Birckmannus, Londino Cantabrigiam	I. 97.
— Jul. 4.	Arnold Byrkmannus, „ „	I. 98.
— Aug. 17.	Val. Pollanus, ex aula apud Westmonasterium, Cantabrigiam	VII.
— Sept. 19.	Bucerus Cantabrigiam	Buc. III. 164.
— Oct. 10.	Jo. Utenhovius, Londino Cantabrigiam	21.
— — 11.	Bucerus	Buc. III. 143.
[— fine]	Isaac. Cellarius, Londino [Basileam]	II. 78.
1549 aut 50?	„ „	II. 76.
1550 Jan. 23.	Isaac. Cellarius, Cantabrigia Basileam	II. 75.
— Febr. 2.	Petrus Perusiuus de Bizzarro, Cantabrigia Basileam	I. 100.
— — 5.	Sigism. Gelous Pannonius, Patavio	IV. 125.
[—] — 25.	Isaac. Cellarius Cantabrigia [Basileam]	II. 77.
— Mart. 7.	Jo. Calvinus, Geneva Basileam „apud d. Myconium“	21.
— — 25.	Frid. Schwartz de Ruissingen, Spira	VIII. 165.
— Mai 15.	Thomas Hortonus, Cantabrigia Basileam	V. 80.
— — 20.	Jacob. Schwartz [de Ruissingen], Wittenberga Basileam	VIII. 166.

1550 Mai	26.	Paulus Eberus, Witeberga Basileam	21.
—	— 29.	Andr. Martinus Rostochiensis, Viteberga	VI.
—	Jun. 12.	Frid. Schwartz de Ruissingen, Spira Basileam	VIII. 167.
[—]	— 30.	Isaac. Cellarius, Argentinam	II. 73.
[—]	— —	„ „ „ [secunda epistola eiusdem diei]	II. 74.
[— medio anno]		Arnold. Byrkmannus, Argentinam	I. 99.
[—	Jul. 1.]	Jo. Sleidanus, [Augusta]	VIII. 199.
—	— 28.	Jo. Frisius, Tiguro Argentinam	III. 369.
[—]	Aug. 8.	Seb. Castalio, „	II. 68.
—	— 26.	Gaspar a Nidbruck, Spira Argentoratum	VI.
—	— 27.	Erhard a Kunheim, Viteberga [Argentinam]	V. 143.
—	— 29.	Jo. Frisius, Tiguro Argentoratum	IV. 73.
—	Oct. 8.	Gaspar a Nidbruck, Augusta Argentoratum	VI.
—	Dec. 10.	Erhard a Kunheim, Viteberga Argentinam „Straszburgk beim Hern Schleydano zu erfragen“	V. 144.
1551 Apr.	24.	Melanthon	21.
1552 Sept.	28.	[Jo. Sleidanus, Argentorato] Augustam	21.
— Oct.	13.	Matth. Claudius, Patavio Augustam	II. 103.
— Nov.	25.	Adolphus Occo, Augusta Argentoratum	VII.

[1547 aut posterius]	Aug. 21.	Philipp. Wisungus, Argentorato	IX. 206.
[— —]	Oct. 6.	Antonius Sailer, Patavio Augustam	VIII. 117.
[— —]		Matth. Claudius, Basileam	II. 104.
[— —]		„ „ „	II. 106
[— —]		Ludovicus Nunius [Nuñez], Basileam, „Nobilissimo viro, domino francisco enzinas, burgensi, bonarum literarum coryphaeo.“	21.
[1550 aut 51 aut 52]	Nov. 17.	Eustathius Quercetanus, Losanna Argentoratum	VIII. 3.

In addition to these letters in the Thomas archives, Strassburg, I know of other inedited letters written to Dryander, viz.:

1547 Jun.	15.	Bucerus Myconio et Dryandro [Basileam]	Zurich city library. Fpist. 45. 159.
[—] Jul.	14.	Calvinus	Cod. Genev. 194. fol. 60.
[1552 Dec.]		„	Cod. Genev. 107ª. fol 57.

This last letter, of which only the minute is found, probably never was sent off, on account of the news of Dryander's death.

Two letters of Melanchthon to Dryander are printed in the Corpus Reformatorum, *the second from Fecht's* Suppl. hist. eccl.

[1547] Jan.	23 [or 27]	C. R. 6, 372 f.
[1552] Oct.	5	C. R. 7, 1098 f.

Title-copies.

112. 1540.

„Breve | i compendiosa | instituçion de la religion Christiana, necessaria para todos aquellos | que con iusto titulo quieren usur | par el nombre de Christo. Escripta | por el docto uaron Francisco | de Elao a ruega de un | amigo y hermano suio | en Christo. | Impressa en Topeia por Adamo | Coruo el Anno de . 1540. *Prologo del Autor in Roman letter A — D 7, 31 leaves, 1 blank. The* Institucion *numbered fol. 1—110, and* Indice *2 leaves, in Italic letter, a — o in 8s, = 112 leaves.*

Then follows: Tractado de | la libertad Chri | stiana | *in Roman letter, not numbered: aa — kk 5, = 75 leaves.* Followed by: Los siete Psal | mos que vulgarm: | te son llamados pœnitentia | les. *kk 6 — nn 4, 28 leaves in Roman letter. And:*

Como el hombre | Christiano ha de instituir cada dia su vida. *In Italic letter, oo — oo4, 4 leaves.*

Total 249 printed leaves in the volume. Very small Octavo.“

The foregoing description is of Wiffen, who adds:

„*The* Tractado de la Libertad Christiana *is Luther's treatise on Christian Liberty; the* Breve i compendiosa institucion *I am induced to think is a summary of the first edition of Calvin's Summa.“*

Wiffen bought a copy of Joseph Lilly, and sent it to Luis Usóz i Rio. .

I find the title in Bibliotheca Hulsiana, Hagae-Comitum 1730, t. IV. p. 374 *n°* 5162 *among books* in 8°: „Breve y compendiosa Institucion de la Religion Christ. por Fr. de Elao. Topeia 1540.“

I think, that Topeia *is Γοπεία, and that this is meant to be a translation of* Ghent, *as if the name of this town signified* la cité gente. *The* Relation des troubles de Gand sous Charles-Quint, *published by Gachard, Bruxelles 1846, says on that town (p. 72):* C'est la plus belle et ample ville de la crestienneté, . . . et est ledit peuple de Gand assez gent, *which last word the editor explains by* aimable, gracieux, agréable.

The chancelor of Brabant writes to Queen Mary in October 1539: je suis cejourd'hui esté averty que, à la dernière assamblée des réthorisiens tenue à Gand, y ont de plusieurs villes et plaches, tant de Brabant que Flandres, esté joué juyz *[jeux]* plain de malvaises et abusives doctrines et séductions, de tout tendant à l'opinion luthériaine, et que tous lesdits juyz par ensamble sont esté imprimez, pour les vendre publicquement et par tout. *And the author of the* Relation *just quoted attribues the Ghent* troubles *of 1539 in part to the influence of Lutheranisme (see Gachard's Introduction p. XVIII). The heretical Spanish book may have been printed at Ghent in 1540 before the arrival there of the Emperor, which took place on the 14th of February.*

Prohibited in Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 16 Breuis & compendiosa instructio de religione Christiana *amongst* Authorum incerti nominis libri; *in the Antwerp Index of 1570, p. 97:* Breue y compendiosa instruction de la Religion Christiana, in nuestro vulgar Castellano, impressa en Flandes, o en Alemania, o

en otra qualquier parti, Con otro libro intitulado, de la Libertad Christiana; *Index of Madrid of 1583, in de Castro's* Hist. de los protest. Esp. *p. 436:* Breve y compendiosa instruction de la religion christiana: con otro libro intitulado de la libertad christiana, impreso ó de mano.

One might conjecture that Elao *meant* Enzinas. *Enzinas was accused:* iste idem Franciscus est auctor et translator libelli perniciosi de libertate christiana et de libro arbitrio. (Belg. *c. 267*). *In answering this point (c. 269. cf. 112), Enzinas states in a trustworthy manner, that he had edited nothing before his New Testament, whereby, however, it is not at all excluded that he was the translator of Luther's work, nay his assertion is given in such terms, that the question arises, whether perhaps a manuscript of Enzinas was edited by another person. As for the name* Elao, *not occurring, it is true, in connection with the treatise on liberty but with the Institution, it could be a hybrid kind of Hebraisation* (אֵלָה) *of the name* Enzinas, *of which we found already the translations* Dryander, du Chesne, Eichmann.

In the Antwerp Index of 1570, p. 102, occurs: Institution de la Religion Christiana en Romance. Impressa en Wittemberg ano de 1536 sin nombre del autor. *Cf. the Madrid Index of 1583 in De Castro's* Historia *p. 440.*

113. 1540.

Melanchthon's Antithesis *of the Papistical and the Evangelical doctrines, translated into Spanish.*

Joh. à Lasco is speaking of this translation, in a letter written to Albert Hardenberg, in the following passage (Gerdes' Scrinium antiquarium, *tomi II pars I. 1750, p. 485—6, and Kuyper's edition of* Joannis a Lasco Opera *t. II. 1866, p. 552—3.):*

Quod scribis, te premi a quibusdam mei nominis invidia, illud equidem facile credo, sed miror tamen istos tantopere offendi meo nomine, quod alioqui adeo alibi invisum non est, ut nunc etiam Antverpiae plurimi et magni viri me officii causa inviserent, inter quos non postremus erat τῷ τῶν Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως ἀρχιγραμματεύς [*Kuyper explains:* Erzkanzler], atque item Brandenburgensis Marchio, de aliis coniecturam facito. Offerebatur tum Caesaris tum Regis Romanorum diploma, qualecunque voluissem etc. nedum ut ab ulla mihi metuendum sit nominis invidia. Quae de Caesare scribis, ea iampridem scimus, ceterum fallitur, qui tibi rettulit, Regem Ferdinandum eo consilio in Germaniam profectum esse, ut fratrem a cogendo concilio excuset, longe enim aliter se res tota habet, et melius de Caesare nostro sperare debemus, quam isti praedicant. Legit pridem avidissime novum Philippi Melanchthonis libellum, qui continet antitheses Pap. et Evang. doctrinae, nec prius misit e manibus, quam totum perlegisset. Mirum est autem, quanta illic brevitate complexus sit Philippus capita religionis fere omnia. Est libellus octo non amplius plagularum, Latine, Germanice, Gallice, Hispanice et Italice, paucis tamen adhuc exemplaribus excusus. Ego tamen unum exemplar nactus eram, non tamen venale, sed ab illo, cuius supra memini, Marchione datum, sed quod tamen alteri mox amico negare non potui. Ibi demum, mi Alberte! vidisses Philippi παῤῥησίαν, qua nunc alterum illum [*Gerdesius explains*: Lutherum] non aequare modo, sed plane superare etiam videtur, tametsi a conviciis procacibus in totum abstineat. Vidisses item quibus coloribus τὴν λειτουργίαν τὴν ὑμετέραν depingat, sed brevi, ut audio, prodibit libellus ipse, et auctior et accuratius scriptus, mox ut de illo Papistici Principes in hisce Spirensibus comitiis in utramlibet partem pronunciarent, quem tamen Caesar ipse fassus est, sed privatim, non posse sibi non magna ex parte probari, et non obscuram postea aliquot exemplis significationem dedit animi multo quam antea erga Evangelii studiosos placidioris.

I think, Kuyper is right, in believing this undated letter to have been written medio anni 1540, *and in alleging among his reasons, that the work of Melanchthon referred to is that on the principal differences between the doctrine of the Gospel and the doctrine of the Pope, which is known to have been published in German*

in 1539. I may add some particulars. The Emperor was at Antwerp from the 13th to the 24th of May 1540 (see Staelin: Aufenthaltsorte K. Karls V, *in the* Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte, Bd. 5, Goettingen 1865). *Instead of the* Spirensia comitia, *alluded to by Lasco, which were indicted by th Emperor's letters of April 18 1540, a* conventus *was held at Hagenau, where the Catholic members were invited to be present on May 23, on which day king Ferdinand was there (see Sleidanus and Seckendorf). In a letter written at Ghent on the 11th of May 1540 we read:* El rey de Romanos ha estado aquí hasta oi XI del presente, ques partido para su dieta, quen Espira tienen convocada (Relation des troubles de Gand, *published by Gachard, Bruxelles 1846, p. 682). The marquis of Brandenburg is Albert Alcibiades, who went to the Netherlands when the Imperial court was at Ghent (see Joh. Voigt's biography of that prince, t. 1. 1852, p. 54—55), which was the case from the 14th of Febr. to the 12th of May, with some short interruptions (Staelin); on the 27th of May the Marquis was at Hagenau (Seckendorf). Most likely he accompanied the king from Ghent to Hagenau. It is evident that Lasco's letter must have been written about the middle of May. The book in question he seems to have seen at Ghent. Most likely it was printed there.*

The pentaglott Antitheses *may have been printed for the Ambassy of the Protestant Estates of Germany to the Emperor. They presented their instructions in German, Latin and French on the 24th of February 1540; on the day before, Cardinal Farnese had arrived (Neudecker's* Merkwürdige Aktenstücke, *1838, p. 200 f.). On the 29. of February Dr. Sibert von Louuenborg, Counseller of the Archbishop of Cologne and of Landgrave Philip of Hesse, writes to the Landgrave from Antwerp: „I perceive the Gospel spreading out at the Court of the Emperor and in his patrimonial dominions", (ibi p. 208).*

Most likely the Antitheses, *which Lasco saw printed, were suppressed before they could be published. Nobody is known to have seen after Lasco that pentaglott edition. The little work was most probably that to which also Kuyper points, which had been published in German in 1539. In Joach. Camerarius'* Synodica, *Lps. 1543 [Halle Univ. libr.], we find it fol. D 4 f. under the title:* Expositio παραλλήλος Capitum doctrinae Euangelicae & Papisticae, teutonice aliquando edita et nunc interpretatione Latina propagata. *It is evident that Camerarius did not know of a former Latin edition, and the Latin he published appears to be his own translation. Another Latin text we find in Coelestinus' hist. com. Aug. Compare my Appendix to the German translation of Juan Valdés' Considerations p. 331. Strobel reprinted in 1783 the German text with the two Latin ones. He says that he has not seen the book mentioned by Lasco, nor was it known to G. G. Weber,* Kritische Geschichte der Augspurg. Confession, *erster Theil, 1783, p. 26. Dr. Bindseil, editor of Melanchthon's works, told me that he himself had also not succeeded in getting a sight of it.*

Articles 6 and 8 of Camerarius, and article 17 of Coelestinus are wanting in the German reprinted by Strobel.

JAIME DE ENZINAS.

114. 1541.

Catechism, translated into Spanish by Jaime de Enzinas, printed at Antwerp in 1541.

See Jaime's letter to be quoted next, p. 66.

That he was not the author of the catechism, follows from his expressions.

115. 1617.

. . . Georgio Cassandro, Professori publico Brugensi . . . Antwerpiae XX Februarii *[1541]* . . . Jacobus Dryander.

In: Illustrium et clarorum virorum epistolae selectiores superiore saeculo scriptae vel a Belgis vel ad Belgas . . . Lugduni Batavorum apud Ludovicum Elzevirium anno 1617. *Octavo. P. 55—67.*

HALLE Univ.

FRANZISCO DE ENZINAS.

Franciscus Enzinas *under the* Authores primae classis *in Pius' IV Index prohibitorum, Dilingae 1564, fol. 21.*

New Testament.

116. 1543.

El nvevo | testamento | De nuestro Redemptor y Saluador | Jesv Christo, | traduzido de Griego en len- gua Castellana, por Fran- | çisco de Enzinas, dedi- | cado a la Cesarea | Magestad. [Ornament: a leaf] | Habla Dios. | Josue. 1. | No se aparte el libro de esta ley de tu | boca. Antes con atento animo estu- | diaras en el de dia y de noche: para, q | guardes y hagas conforme a todo a- | quello que esta en el escrito. Por que | entonzes haras prospero tu camino, | y te gobernaras con prudencia. | M. D. XLIII.

Colophon: Acabose de imprimir este libro en la in- | signe çibdad de Enueres, en casa de Este- | uan Mierdmanno, impressor de | libros a. 25. de Octubre, en | el anño del Señor de | M. D. XLIII. |

Numbered to folio 347, followed by 5 folios not numbered, total 352 leaves.

On the reverse of the title-leaf: [Ornament: a leaf] Lo qve dios | manda qve | haga el rei | Devt. XVII. | *Follow some verses of this chapter, written out. Leaf 2 to 8, unnumbered:* Al invictissimo | Monarcha Don Carlos. V. Empe- | rador Semper Augusto, Rei de | España &c. Françisco de | Enzinas, Graçia, | Salud, y Paz. | . . . *Subscribed:* De Enueres, primero de Octubre | del Anno de 1543. | *On the reverse of leaf 8:* Christo habla | con los hom- | bres mor- | tales. | *Follow some verses. Fol.* 1 — 347, *numbered, the translation of the N. T.; on the reverse of f.* 347 *begins:* Tabla pa | ra hallar las episto | las y Euangelios que se cantā en

los templos | los domingos y fiestas de todo el año, confor | me al vso de la Iglesia Romana . . .

WOLFENBÜTTEL, ULM, WIFFEN. In the copy in the library of Francke's orphan-house at HALLE a. S. there is wanting sheet M and at the end the tabla, *excepting its first page; extant* los errores que se han admittido, *no colophon.*

De la Serna Santander says in the catalogue of his library, Catalogue des livres de la bibliotheque de M. C. de la Serna Santander, *t. 1, Bruxelles, an XI (1803) [Halle Univ.], p. 19.* Ce nouveau Testament . . . est sans contredit le plus rare de toutes les versions espagnoles des livres de l'Ecriture Ste. sans excepter même la fameuse bible imprimée à Ferrare. Dans la vente des livres de Mr. Camus de Limars, faite à Paris en 1786, par M. Debure l'aîné, il fut vendu cinquante-neuf liv. dix-neuf sous.

117. 1829.

Dedication by Francisco de Enzinas of his Spanish Translation of the New Testament. Translated from the original, printed at Antwerp in 1543.

Appendix N° 1. P. 401—5 of History | of the | progress and suppression | of the | reformation in Spain | in the sixteenth century. | By Thomas M'Crie, D.D. | William Blackwood, Edinburgh: and | T. Cadell, Strand, London. | M. DCCC. XXIX. | *Octavo.*

The last chapter of the book of Revelation in the version of the N. T. by Enzinas.

Ib. Appendix N° V. P. 414—416.

118. 1835.

Franc. de Enzinas Zueignungsschreiben zu seiner spanischen Uebersetzung des neuen Testaments.

Translated from M'Crie's English translation. P. 413—417 of Geschichte | der | Ausbreitung und Unterdrückung | der | Reformation in Spanien | im sechzehnten Jahrhunderte. | Aus dem Englischen des Dr. Thomas M'Crie | übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet | von | Gustav Plieninger. | Nebst einer Vorrede | von | Dr. F. C. Baur, | ordentl. Professor der evangelischen Theologie zu Tübingen. | Stuttgart. | Fr. Brodhag'sche Buchhandlung. | 1835. | *Octavo.*

The last chapter of S. John's apocalypse in Enzinas' translation reprinted from M'Crie, ib. p. 428—430.

1862. *The dedication in French. See below n°* **120.**

History of his captivity and history of Juan Diaz.

Gerdesius says in his Historia reformationis t. III. 1749. *p.* 166 *on Dryander's narrative of his own captivity:* Extat totius hujus historiae narratio ab ipso Dryandro confecta atque edita Antverp. 1545. lingua Latina, sed quam editionem hactenus investigare nullibi datum fuit: Est ea tamen à Ludovico Rabo in Germanicam translata. . . *It is highly improbable that such an edition has been made. Rabus must have translated from a manuscript copy.*

G. Th. Strobel in his careful sketch on Franc. Dryander, Neue Beyträge zur Litteratur besonders des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, *vol. 5,* Nürnberg und Altdorf

1794, *speaking of this author's notice on the martyrdom of some Netherlanders, says p. 229 f.* Ich bin aber nicht im Stande, eine genaue Nachricht von der Ausgabe derselben zu ertheilen, da ich aller Bemühung ungeachtet solche nirgends auftreiben konnte. Doch haben alle, welche Martyrologia edirten, sie benutzt... Mir würde es angenehm seyn, zu erfahren, wann, wo, und in welcher Sprache Dryander diesz Niederländische Martyrologium herausgegeben habe. *The first edition of the work appears to have been that of the French translation*:

119. 1558.

Histoire | de l'estat dv Pais | Bas, et de la reli- | gion d'Espagne, *** | Par Françoys du Chesne. | A S. Marie, | par Francoys Perrin. M. D. LVIII. |

Translator's preface p. 3—5. The work p. 7—247. Octavo.

WIFFEN'S libr. The copy in the DRESDEN Royal library has not the words A S. Marie; in the copy belonging to the FRANKFURT o. M. city library not only these words, but also the following par Francoys Perrin *are wanting. The title-copy given in Gallardo's* biblioteca españ. *t. 2. Madrid 1866, col. 927, agrees with the Frankfurt copy. Neither in Wiffen's copy nor in those at Frankfurt and Dresden is the title-leaf stuck in, but in all it is part of the first sheet. (On the Dresden copy compare my* Cenni *p. 518).*

The French translation was made after a manuscript copy of the original. The translator says in his preface: Ayant recouvvre ce livre en Latin, escrit par vn autheur assez cogneu de gens doctes, tant à cause de sa pieté, assez declarée & en ses escrits & en sa conuersation, que de son scauoir és autres sciences & bonnes disciplines: sachant aussi qu'il se deuoit au brief mettre en lumiere: ... i'ay mis peine à ce que non seulement ceux qui entendent la langue latine, mais aussi le cõmun populaire ... en fust participant. *And afterwards:* il est & de renom, & de tres bõne reputation entre les gens de bien, voire mesmes entre les meschans touchant sa vie.

It was only in January 1561 that François Perrin was received as citizen of Geneva. His father Humbert Perrin was printer at Condé sur Meuse *in Lorraine.* S. Marie *could mean* S. Marie-aux-chênes *near Metz. It could, however, as well be* S. Marie-aux-mines *in Alsace. Both suppositions are liable to objection.*

Jo. Oporinus writes to Conrad Hubert at Strasburg, 1557 postridie Quasimodo: ne obliviscaris ad me mittere corpus iuris quod apud te habes, una cum Dryandri historia, et aliis ad me pertinentibus. *(Ms. in the Thomas archives, Strassburg). No doubt, this* historia *was a manuscript copy of the Latin original.*

120. 1862.

Collection de mémoires | relatifs | a l'histoire de Belgique | Mémoires de Francisco de Enzinas. — Histoire | de l'estat du Pays-bas et de la religion | d'Espagne |

Second leaf, principal title:

XVI^e^ siècle | Mémoires | de | Francisco de Enzinas | texte Latin inédit | avec | la traduction Française du XVI^e^ siècle en regard |

1543—1545 | publiés | avec notice et annotations | par Ch.-Al. Campan | Tome premier | Première partie | *[Emblem: an open book with the words* Histoire | de | Belgique, *surrounded by beams, with semicircular inscription above the book:* Gardons memoire, *the whole surrounded by a circular frame]* | Bruxelles, Leipzig, Gand | Ch. Muquardt | MDCCCLXII. |

Campan's Préface p. V—XXV. Title-leaf: Mémoires | de | Francisco de Enzinas | . Préface du traducteur p. 1—3. *Enzinas' mémoires p. 5—271.*

Collection de Mémoires | relatifs | a l'histoire de Belgique.

Second leaf, principal title, equal to that of the Première partie, *only with the words* Deuxième partie *instead of those.*

Third leaf: Pièces justificatives. *These begin on the fourth leaf p. 275 and run to p. 656, on p. 649—656:* Dédicace du Nuevo Testamento. (traduction.)

Follows one leaf Errata. Table des matières *p. 659—665.*

Colophon on special leaf: Imprime a Bruxelles | chez M. Weissenbruch, imprimeur du roi | aux frais et par les soins | de la | société de l'histoire de Belgique | Février MDCCCLXII. |

First leaf of vol. 2. with title equal to that before tome premier.

Second leaf title equal to the principal title of Tome premier, *only with the words* Tome second *instead of* Tome premier | Première partie, *with the year* MDCCCLXIII, *and with a stop after the word* regard.

Third leaf p. 5: Deuxième partie.

Mémoires, *beginning with chapter* CXV, *p. 6—433.*

Special leaf: Pièces justificatives. *These with* Avant-propos *run p. 437—528.*

Table des matières *p. 529—537.*

Colophon on special leaf, consonant to that of tome premier, *only with accent on the last vowel of* Imprimé *and with the date* Mars MDCCCLXIII. *instead of the other one.*

Octavo.

HALLE Univ.

In my copy, bought from Muquardt in 1873, the following note is found, printed on a label: La Notice sur la vie et les oeuvres de Francisco de Enzinas est sous-presse, elle sera publiée incessamment.

121. 1546.

Historia | vera de morte san- | cti uiri Joannis Diazij Hispani, | quem eius frater germanus Al- | phonsus Diazius, exemplum se- | quutus primi parricidæ Cain, | uelut alterū Abelem, nefariè in- | terfecit: per Claudium | Senarclæum. | Cum præfatione D. Martini Buceri, in qua de | præsenti statu Germaniæ multo conti- | nentur lectu inprimis digna. | M. D. XLVI. | *Octavo.*

After the title-leaf: Dedicatory epistle to Otto Henry Prince Palatine of the Rhine by Bucer, which ends on fol. γ 7. Psalm II, in Latin verses, on fol. γ 7 and 8. Epistle of Claude Senarcle to Bucer p. 1—22. The history 23—178.

Christianæ religionis Summa, *and Psalms 14 and 17 versified in Latin, eleven leaves without pagination. Total 124 leaves.*

STRASSBURG Colleg. Wilhelm., BASLE Public, BERN City, HALLE Ponickau libr., Univ. libraries of GOETTINGEN, JENA, LEIPZIG; BRITISH MUSEUM. — A copy printed on vellum is in the library of SAINTE-GENEVIEVE in PARIS, see Catalogue de livres imprimés sur vélin, qui se trouvent dans des bibliothéques tant publiques que particulières, t. 3, Paris 1824, p. 22 *(where in the title copy, reproduced line for line, I notice* quo *and* imprimis; *most likely also this vellum copy has* qua *and* imprimis). *It may be the same copy which Enzinas presented to Cardinal du Bellay (epist. XII). At present there are the arms of de Thou on the binding.*

Seckendorf, Comment. de Luther. 1692, gives extracts ex *[Senarclaei]* libello, qui ob raritatem inter deperditos haberi potest *(p. 653).*

Gerdesius, Serin. antiq. t. 8, part. 1. 1763, p. 390, says, it was printed sive Basileae, sive Argentorati (neque enim locus impressionis additus legitur). *Georg Veesenmeyer,* Miscellaneen litterarischen und historischen Inhalts, Nürnberg 1812, *in an article on the printer Hans Kilian at Neuburg o. D., says p. 76 on the book of Senarcle:* Auch diese Schrift halte ich nach der Aehnlichkeit der Lettern für ein Product der Kilianischen Druckerey. Doch diesz ist bloss Vermuthung, weil kein Druckort angegeben ist. Kilian mag gute Ursache gehabt haben, nach dem Vorgang mit Diazius seinen Namen nicht zu nennen. *Also in the article on Diaz, found among Veesenmeyer's papers after his death, which occurred in 1833, and printed in Illgen's* Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie, Neue Folge, Bd. 1. 1837, Heft 3, *p. 156 the book of Senarclaeus is said to be published* Neoburgi ad Danub. *It is, however, now certain that it was printed and published at Basle by Oporinus, see Dryander's letters edited by Boehmer* [*here n°* **148**] *p. 391 f.*

In Pius' IV Index, *Dilingae 1564, fol. 17* Claudius Senarclaeuus *is a first class prohibited writer; cf. fol. 26:* Joan. Diazius, ille, cuius mortis historiam scripsit Cernarcleui *which means Senarclens. Besides we find there under* Authorum incerti nominis libri prohibiti *fol. 25:* Historia de morte Joannis Diazii Hispani, quem frater eius germanus interfecit.

Also Martin Bucer is an author primae classis, *ib. fol. 15. 32.*

A copy of this edition of the Historia Diazii *was offered for 8 florins in the* XC. Catalog des antiquar. Bücherlagers von Fidelis Butsch Sohn, Augsburg 1873, *p. 73, n° 1457:* Schönes Exemplar. Von grosser Seltenheit.

122. 1763.

Claudii Senarclaci | Historia vera, de | Morte Joa. Diazii | Hispani. 1546. |

in Scrinium antiquarium | sive | miscellanea | Groningana [Tomi VIII. pars I. | × | Groningæ & Bremæ ||| A. 1763. | *Quarto. P.* 389 *the above title, followed by Gerdesius' preface p.* 389 *and* 390. *The* historia *with Senarclens' and Bucer's prefaces, from the publication of 1546, p.* 390—464. *The original address of Bucer's preface, and the three psalms are left out. On Diaz'* Summa *see below n°* **156**.

ZURICH City.

123. 1865.

Historia de la muerte | de Juán Díaz, | por determinazión tomada en Roma, | le hizo matar su hermano | Alfonso Díaz, | en la madrugada del Sábado 27 iii m. del año 1546. | Si hoc fuit justum, „Quæ | potest esse pietas? quæ | sanctitas? quæ religio?“ | (Sigmondi Disertatio) | Madrid. | Año MDCCCLXV. | *With portrait of Juan Diaz after Beza's Icones, on a special leaf. Octavo. The original title of Senarclens' history with translation of that title, 2 leaves. Translation of the work with Bucer's preface,* Suma de la relijion Cristiana *by Diaz, and in Latin the two psalms, p. 5—110.* Documentos *collected by the editor p. 111—152.* Observaziones *p. 153—190, signed* Madrid 1865. — L. Usóz i Rio. Indice *and* erratas *one leaf. Prefixed title-leaf:* Reformistas antigüos Españoles. | Tomo XX. | *On the back list of 19* Obras ya reimpresas. *This XX vol. was the last one published in Usóz' and Wiffen's life times, nor has the series been continued.*

124. 1554—1572. *Strassburg martyrology.*

Historien | Der Heyligen Auszer- | wölten Gottes Zeügen, ...|| ... Durch | Ludouicum Rabus von Memmingen, der H. | Schrifft Doctorn, vnnd Prediger | der Kirchen zů Strasz | burg. | Der Ander Theyl. | M. D. LIIII. | *Title black and red. Colophon:* Getruckt zů Straszburg durch | Samuel Emmel. | M. D. LIIII. *Rabus' preface is dated Strassburg 1 March 1554. Quarto (four leaves under one signature).*

Fol. CCLXXiij *verso begins* Die History von . . Joanne Diazio ...|| ... hab ich ...|| ... ausz | den Schrifften Claudij Senarclei, sampt ande- | rer so hieuon auszgangen, ver- | zeychnet. | *Ends fol.* CCC. *A woodcut, representing the murder (Alfonso Diaz waiting outside at the door of the room in which it is perpetrated), on fol.* CCLXXiiij, *and repeated fol.* CCXCIX.

STRASSBURG, UNIV. and Collegium WILHELM.

A reprint has M. D. LV. *in title and colophon. Preface dated as before. The title, black and red, has the same divisions as the first edition; line 4* theyl, *first edition* theil. *In the colophon:* Samnel. *Octavo (eight leaves under one signature), but the columns are just as high and as broad as those of the first edition in quarto.*

The Diaz history, with the cuts, on the same pages as there.

BOEHMER.

Historien | Der Heyligen Auszer- | wölten Gottes Zeugen...||... Durch Ludouicum Rabus von Memmingen, der H. | Schrifft Doctorn, vnnd Prediger | der Kirchen zů Strasz- | burg. | Der Ander Theyl. | M. D. LV. | *Title black and red. Colophon:* Getruckt zů Straszburg | durch Samuel | Emmel. | M. D. LVI | *Here 56, on the title 55. Rabus' preface dated March 1. 1554. Octavo (eight leaves under one signature).*

Fol. CCLXXIII foll. Die History von ... Johanne Diazio ... ausz den Schrifften Claudij Senarclei, sampt anderer ... *Ends fol. CCC. Fol. CCLXXIIII a woodcut representing the murder, the same cut on fol. CCXCIX.*

BERLIN Royal.

Another copy in the BERLIN Royal has the title running as above, only other divisions and other year: Ludouicum | Rabus ... Do- | ctorn ... Kir- | chen zů Strasz- | burg. | Der Ander Theyl. | M. D. LVI. *Black and red. The Colo-*

phon like the one just mentioned. Title part of sheet one. Preface dated as in the other copy.

The history, with the two cuts, exactly on the same folios as in the other Berlin copy. From certain typographical reasons I thought this copy, as for the part containing Diaz, did not belong to an edition different from the other Berlin one.

The greater part of Enzinas' book on the state of Belgium is translated in: Historien | Der Heyligen Auszer- | wôlten Gottes Zeügen, Bekennern vnd | Martyrern, so zů disen vnsern letsten zeytten, darin- | nen der Allmechtig Ewig Gott seine Kirchen mit | der reynen Lehr seines Gnadenreichen Euangeliums | Vätterlichen heymgesůcht hat, hin vnd wi- | der in allen Landen worden | seind. | Alles ausz Glaubwürdigen Schrifften | vnd Zeügnussen, zů gemeyner auffbawung der An | gefochtenen Kirchen Teütscher Nation, durch Ludoui- | cum Rabus von Memmingen, der Heyligen | Schrifft Doctorn, auffs eynfal- | tigst vnd wahrhafftigst | beschriben. | ꝛc. | Der Sybend Theyl. | M. D. LVII. | *Lines 1. 2. 10 and the last but one red. Colophon:* Getruckt zů Strasz- | burg durch Samuel | Emmel. | M. D. LVII. *Preface dated* Vlm, den VI. Augustmonats . . . M. D. LVII . . . Rabus. *Broad Octavo.*

The translations from Enzinas fol. LXV — CCXXX. *They begin with the imprisonments of Louvain, to which there is the previous notice:* Dise History ist erstlich durch den Hochgelehrten Herren Franciscum Encenas Burgensim, in Lateinischer spraachen (als der zůr selbigen zeit zů Lôui solchs alles gesehen) beschriben, Vnd yetzundt durch mich von wort zů wort, mit hôchstem fleisz vnd besten treüwen verteütschet . . . *Analogous passages at the head of the different chapters taken from* Encenas' Niderländische Cronick, *as the book is called fol. CLIV.*

As the beginning of Enzinas' Latin original is wanting in the only ms hitherto known, published by Campan (here n° 120), this German translation made from the Latin is to be compared with the French for chapters 3 — 6 of Enzinas' work.

STRASSBURG Univ.

Historien der | Martyrer, | Ander Theil. | . . ‖ Durch | Ludouicum Rabus, der H. | Schrifft Doctor, vnd der Kirchen | zů Vlm Superintendenten. | . . . ‖ 1572 | *Title in a frame. Colophon:* Gedruckt in der Freien Statt | Straszburg, durch Josiam Rihel. | M. D. LXXII. | *Folio. Six leaves under one signature. Fol.* 615 — 676 *the greater part of* Encenas' *narrative as well of his own experiences as on San Roman and other martyrs.*

Fol. 688 — 708 *book 5, ch. 27:* Johannes Diazius. *With this previous notice.* Die warhaffte Historiam, vom todte Johannis Diazij . . ‖ . . . Hatt anfenglichs in Lateinischer spraach beschriben sehr fleissig, artlich vnnd eigentlich, Claudius Senarcleus. Vnnd hab ich die selbigen, ausz seinen vnnd andern glaubwürdigen Schrifften vnnd Actis, etwas weitleuffiger dann zuuor, inn vnser Teutsche spraach hienach setzen wöllen. *Diaz's history in verses fol.* 705. 706, *from a former publication* [*see here n°* 158], *with an appendix on Alfonso Diaz's suicide.*

BERLIN Royal.

125. 1555 foll.

Report from Senarclaeus in Jo. Sleidani de statu religionis et reipublicae, Carolo quinto Caesare, commentarii, *in* lib. XVII.

1555 and very many editions of the Latin original and translations.

Tappart in the book quoted above p. 133, note 5, says p. 37 on Sleidanus' history de statu religionis: Vertebatur Germanice, Belgice, Gallice, Italice, Anglice,

Hispanice: &, ut quidam narrarunt, Turcice. *In the* Editionum comment. Jo. Sleidani quae desiderantur a Jo. Gottlob Boehmio pr. Lips. enumeratio *[Ponickau libr.], dated 1765, we find* Jo. Sleidani Comm. Versio Hispanica. *A Spanish translation is not found in Boehme's large collection of editions of Sleidanus' Commentary, now in the possession of the University library at Leipzig. I think that such a translation, if ever made, was never printed, and that Boehme's research was only founded on the notice given by Tappart who probably was not well informed on this subject.*

126. 1556 foll.

Geneva martyrology, with translations into German and Rhaeto-romance. The list is not meant to be complete.

Joannes Crispinus *is* Primae classis Auctor *in the Antwerp prohibitory Index 1570, p. 64.*

Recueil de l'histoire de Jean Diaze. *In:* Recveil de plvsievrs personnes, qvi ont constamment enduré la mort pour le nom du Seigneur. Par Jean Crespin M. D. LVI. *Octavo. On p. 275—323 a translation of the greater part of Senarclens'* Historia.

LEIPZIG Univ.

Historia vera de morte Joannis Diazii *in* Acta martyrum. Apud Jo. Crispinvm. M. D. LVI. *Colophon:* Excvdebat Joannes Crispinvs Genevae, anno domini M. D. LVI. cal. Martii. *Octavo. Pages 268—316, with the subscription:* Haec de Diazio ex eo libello decerpsimus, qui statim ab illius morte editus est a quodam ipsius amico, qui horum testis oculatus fuerat. Itaque et ipsum loqui, et suis affectibus indulgere sivimus. *The* Acta *give the greater part of Senarclens'* historia.

HALLE a. S. Orphan-house. BAUM's libr.

Extracts from Enzinas' Hist. Belg. *and a* Historia memoranda de morte Joannis Diazii *on fol. 126 – 139 of the* Actiones et Monimenta Martyrum. Joannes Crispinvs. M. D. LX. *Octavo. The subscription of the* Acta *of 1556 is left out.*

GENEVA City, HALLE Univ., STRASSBURG Wilhelmit.

Several lives from du Chesne's Histoire, *without, however, naming the source, viz.* IV martyrs de Brabant, Juste Insberg, Fr. de Saint-Romain, Roch de Brabant, Gilles Tilleman, *are given in the* Qvatrieme partie des actes des martyrs. Par Jean Crespin, M. D. LXI. *Octavo.*

S. Mary's libr. at HALLE a. S.

The same lives as in the foregoing Qvatrieme partie, *and Jean Diaz after Senarclens, in the* Actes des martyrs dedvits en sept livres. L'Ancre de Jean Crespin. M. D. LXIIII *[= 65]. Colophon* M. D. LXIIII. *[= 64]. Folio.*

S. Mary's libr. at HALLE a. S.

Extracts from the Belgian persecutions and from Senarclens in all the following publications:

Histoire | des vrays Tesmoins de la veri- | te de l'Evangile || L'ancre de Jean Crespin | M. D. LXX. *Folio.*

BASLE Public.

Histoire | des martyrs, || *[Crispin's mark]* || M. D. LXXXII. | *Folio.*

GENEVA City. BAUM.

Märtyrbuch, Herborn 1591. *Preface dated 1. Jan. 1590. In ten books. Octavo.*

BASLE Public.

Märtyrbuch, Herborn 1595. *Octavo.*

CUNITZ.

Märtyrbuch, Basel 1597. *Octavo. Reprint of the Herborn publication.*

BASLE Public, (without title-leaf).

Märtyrbuch, Sigen 1597. *Octavo.*

Martyrologium ... Ex ... prolixis Martyrum illis Actis, primum Gallice, dehinc etiam Germanice editis .. compendiose translatum. Hanoviae *s. a. In ten books. Translation from the Herborn publication. Octavo.*

BASLE Public.

Histoire des martyrs. *With Crespin's anchor.* M. D. XCVII. *In twelve books. Folio.*

BASLE Public., LAUSANNE Canton.

Grosz Martyrbuch ... Anfänglich in Frantzösischer spraach beschrieben ... Durch Paulum Crocium ... Hanaw ... MDCVI. *Folio.*

BASLE Public.

Histoire | des martyrs, |[*[Crispins mark]* |[M. DC. VIII. | *Folio.*

BAUM.

Martyrbuch, Herborn 1608. *Octavo.*

BAUM.

Grosz Martyrbuch .. Hanaw ... MDCXVII. *Folio.*

BASLE Public.

Histoire | des martyrs, |[A Geneve, | Imprimé par Pierre Aubert. | M. DC. XIX. | *Folio.*

BAUM, CUNITZ.

In Leonhard Meyer's Geschichten der Märtyrern. Schaffhausen M. DC. LXIV. *Octavo, second hand extracts from Belg. and Senarcl.*

GOETTINGEN Univ.

Das Grosse | Martyr-Buch, |[Anfänglich in Frantzösischer Sprache beschrieben; Hernacher .. ‖ .. treulich übergesetzet und in Teutsche Spraache gebracht, | Durch | Dr. Paulum Crocium .. |[Bremen, ||| .. M. DC. LXXXII. | Folio.

CUNITZ.

Martyrbuch, Schmalkalden 1682.

Martyrologium magnum. | oder | Il cudesch | grand dels martyrs. |[Part prima. |[Primò stat tschantà in Frances dapo in Todaischk, & huossa ... in noss Romansch | verti & contract. | Da | Conradino Riolano. |[Stampà in Strada in Engadina Bassa. || Ano. M. DCCXVIII. | *The title in a frame. Quarto.*

HALLE Univ., STRASSBURG Univ.

127. 1563.

Martyrum historia ... Pars secvnda ... Authore Heinrico Pantaleone ... Basileae ... 1563. *Folio.*

BASLE Public, HALLE Univ.

Pantaleo, after having spoken of the persecution at Louvain, says p. 97: Haec omnia Franciscus Encenas qui tum Lovanii interfuit, atque ut res acta est oculis vidit, fusius descripsit, ex quo haec breviter decerpsimus, *then ib. on Persevaldus:* Haec ex Francisco Encenate, *in the article on Iustus Imbsberger [Iusberg] p. 101* Encenas *is mentioned as fellow-captive; with respect to Aegidius Bruxellensis p. 102:* Hanc Historiam plenius Franciscus Encenas concaptivus eius descripsit atque edidit, ex quo breviter summam hanc decerpsimus. *As the end of a small article on the* Persecutio in Belgis 1543 et 1544 *p. 103:* Id quod copiosius in Lud.

Rabi li. 7. describit Franciscus Encenas. *Nowhere a trace of knowledge of the Latin original. The histories of San Romanus p. 151 f. and of Rochus p. 157 f. are taken from Crispin's* Actiones et monimenta martyrum 1560; *however, instead of the sentence found at the end of Sanromanus' history in the* Actiones: ut pii homines ab aliis, qui viderant, accepta fideliter narrarunt, *Pantaleo says p. 156:* ut Franciscus Encenas (qui et Driander dictus) Hispanus in tractatu suo de martyribus fideliter descripsit et publicavit, cui hic martyr ...

Joannes Diazius a fratre proprio interfectus, *p. 158—173 from the Geneva* Actiones, *with an addition on the parricide's death.*

128. 1565 foll.

From the Nederlantsche Chronijcke van Franciscus Encenas *two reports, one on* Justus Imberger *[Iusberg], the other on* Rochus uit Antwerpen, *are incorporated into the second edition of Adrian Haemstede's* Gheschiedenisse der Martelaren, *published 1565 after Haemstede's death, fol. 319—330. See Joh. ab Utrecht Dresselhuis in Kist and Royaards'* Archief voor kerkelijke geschiedenis, 6e deel, *Leiden 1835, p. 85.*

From the Belgian report and from Senarclens' history in De | Historie | der | martelaren, [Op nieuws neerstelyk overzien, en veelzins vermeerdert ... | ... door J. G. O. || ... onder ieder Printverbeelding. Een korte schets der Geschiede- | nisse in Dichtmaas, door ... | Claas Bruin. ‖ >< | Te Leyden, | ⁘ 1747 | *Fol.*

BOEHMER.

129.

In Fox's Book of Martyrs, reprinted Leeds 1813, vol. 1: The martyrs of Louvaine, Giles Tilleman, persecution in Gaunt and other parts of Flanders, p. 404—407. At the end the notice: The history of this persecution is at large set forth by Frank. Encenas, a very learned man, who also himself was prisoner the same time at Brussels: and to this work the reader is respectfully referred. *A short notice on Franciscus Encenas p. 474, on his brother N burnt at Rome p. 473—4. On F. san Romanus p. 469—473.*

STRASSBURG Wilhelmit.

130. 1692 foll.

Extracts from Senarclens in Viti Ludovici a Seckendorf ||| commentarius | | De | Lutheranismo, || Francofurti & Lipsiæ, || Anno M DC XCII. | *Folio. Pages* 652—656.

STRASSBURG Univ.

The same in the edition Lps. 1694. Folio.

STRASSBURG Univ., HALLE Univ.

In the German translation, Historie des Lutherthums, *Lpz. 1714, Quarto, col. 2678—2686.*

STRASSBURG Univ.

In the Dutch translation of Seckendorf, t. 3, Delft 1730.

Sekendorf Hist. de la réform., abrégée par Junius & Roos, et traduite en franç. par J. J. P. T. IV, Basle, 1785. *Octavo. On Diaz p. 431—440.*

STRASSBURG Univ.

131. '1733.

Christian August Saligs | Vollständige Historie | Der | Augspurgischen Confession ||| Zweyter Theil: ‖[Halle, 1733. ‖ *Q. P. 21—28 extracts from Senarclens' history of Diaz and from Dryander's Belgian persecutions.*

HALLE Univ.

132. 1749.

Extracts and report from Enzinas' narrative of his own undertaking and fate in Belgium, translated into Latin from Rabus' Historien *t. 7 [see here nº 12..] in* Danielis Gerdesii | historia | reformationis, | sive, | annales evangelii | seculo XVI. | passim per Europam | renovati | . . . ‖[Tomus III. | Qui Reformationem Belgii usque ad A. 1558 itemque | Sueciae & Daniae, complectitur. | >< | Groningae & Bremae, | Anno MDCCXLIX. | *Quarto. P. 166—172.*

HALLE Univ.

Council of Trent.

133. 1546.

Acta | concilii | Tridentini, anno M. D. | XLVI. celebrati: | Vnà cum Annotationibus pijs, | & lectu dignissimis. | Item, | Ratio, cur qui Confessionem Augustanam | profitentur, non esse assentiendum iniquis | Concilij Tridentini sententijs iudicarunt: | per Philippum Melanch- | thonem. | M. D. XLVI. |

It was printed by Oporinus at Basle, see Franz. Enzinas' letters, my edition (here nº **149**) *p. 395 sq.*

Fol. a 2—8: Lectori. *Admonition of the papal Legates in the first session of the council at Trent, and the decrees of the first six sessions, each of these seven papers followed by criticizing* Annotationes, *fol. a 1—0 2 recto. Names of persons present at the Council, fol. 0 2 verso — 0 4 recto. Then* Causae quare . . . per Philippum Melanchthonem, *fol. 0 4 verso — q 7 recto. Indulgence letter of pope Paul III, fol. q 7 verso — r 6 recto.* Lectori, *fol. r 6 verso — r 7 verso.* Antihesis *[sic]* Pavli apostoli Tarsensis, & Pauli praesentis piratae Romani, qui se tertium appellat, Romae scripta, *a poem in disticha, fol. r 7 verso — r 8 recto.* Pauli III. pontificis Romani epistolae duae, ad Heluetios atqꝫ Abbates, quibus & instituti Concilij Tridentini, & suscepti cōtra Protestantes belli ratio continetur. *Only these title-words on fol. s 1 recto; the text beginning on the verso, runs to s 8 verso. Total 19 sheets. Octavo.*

JENA Univ. (part of the last leaf is wanting; some few ms. marginal notes are perhaps by the hand of Melanchthon).

The Admonitio atque hortatio legatorum, *beginning:* Cum ipsa muneris nostri, *was not read* in prima sessione, *as this collection says, but in the second, 7 January 1546 (see Le Plat,* ampliss. collectio *1, 38 sq.) Decrees 1—5 of these* Acta, *where they are only numbered, without titles or mention of sessions, are the following, as found in the official collection: 1:* de modo vivendi et aliis in concilio servandis *(sess. 2; Jan. 7, 1540). 2:* de symbolo fidei *(sess. 3). 3:* de canonicis scripturis, de editione et usu sacrorum librorum *(sess. 4). 4:* de reformatione *(sess. 5). 5:* de peccato originali *(sess. 5). The sixth decree of these* Acta *treats* de justificatione, *but is not the text adopted in session 6 on January 13, 1547.*

No doubt these are the Annotationes in acta Concilii Tridentini, *occurring amongst the* Libri prohibiti, ab incerti nominis authoribus compositi *in Pius' IV* Index, *Dilingae 1564, fol. 14.*

On the work of Melanchthon appended to these Acta *see Schelhorn's* Amoen. hist. eccles. et lit. *t. 2, p. 381 f. In December 1547 Melanchthon himself was finishing a refutation of the Tridentine decrees, especially of the decree on justification, see* Corp. Ref. *6, 945—50.*

134. 1794.

Extracts from those Annotations in G. Th. Strobel's Neue Beyträge zur Litteratur besonders des sechszehnten Jahrhunderts, *vol. 5, 1794.*

HALLE Univ.

135. 1550.

Compen- | dio de las catorze decadas | de Tito Liuio Paduano, principe de la | historia Romana, escrito en Latin | por Lucio Floro, y al presen- | te traduzio en lengua | Castellana. | *[A device: a knight on a winged horse spearing a lion rampant]* | En Argentina en casa de | Augustin Frisio, Año de | M. D. L. | *Colophon:* Acabose de impri- | mir este libro d'el compen- | dio de las catorze Decadas | de Tito Liuio Paduano, prin- | cipe de la historia Romana, | en la ciudad Imperial de Ar- | gentina, en casa de Au- | gustin Frisio en el a- | ño de mill y qui | nientos y cincuen | ta. |

Small octavo. 167 folios, including title.

WIFFEN's libr.

Compare above note 65 Birkmann's letter to Dryander, middle of 1550.

136. 1553.

This Compendio ... traduzido ... Por Francisco d'Enzinas, *followed by* Todas las Décadas de Tito ... traduzidas *(no translator's name) was printed again at* Colonia Agrippina, á costas de Arnoldo Byrckmanno ... M. D. LIII. *Folio. See Gallardo's* Biblioteca Española, *t. 2, Madrid 1866, col. 926. 927, and compare De Castro's* Hist. d. l. Protest. *p. 118. 119. 260. 261.*

The Catálogo de la biblioteca Salvá, *1872, t. II., after having stated that the Spanish translation of Livy Salamanca 1497* nada tiene de comun con la de fray Pedro de la Vega, *published Çaragoça 1520 under the title* Las quatorze decadas de Tito Liuio, *adds in the article dedicated to the latter, p. 429 f.:* Hai otra impresion de Colonia Agrippina, 1553. Fol. corregida y aumentada por Arnaldo Birkman, de la que se copió la ultima hecha en Madrid, imprenta real, M. DCC. XCVI. 5 vols. 4°. *From this notice one must conclude that Birkmann's* Decadas *are fray Pedro's translation. I do not know whether Enzinas'* Compendio *has been reprinted in this Madrid edition.*

Plutarch.

137. 1551.

El primero volvmen delas vidas ... por ... Plutarcho ... traduzidas ... Por Francisco d'Enzinas. *[Woodcut:* Caballero ginete en un caballo alado hiriendo á un leon con un venablo] | En Argentina, en casa de Augustin Frisio, ... M. D. LI.

Fuller title-copy in Gallardo's Biblioteca *2, 925, from which this abbreviation is taken. Gallardo gives the following description:* 398 h *[ojas].* — sign. a. A — Gg. Aaa — Mmm. — Port *[ada].* — v. *[uelta]* en b *[lanco]* — Ded. al emperador Cárlos V. — p. *[agina]* en b. — Texto. — p. en b. — Indice. — Errat. *I do not doubt that two more leaves at the end, containing the* orden *and the colophon, were only by accident wanting in Gallardo's copy. According to the* orden, Mmm *was a* quaderno, *whilst, if the errata ended the volume, the layer would be a* terno. *The volume, therefore, had 400 leaves. It follows that the dedication had five leaves. The same results from the* orden, *where layer* a *is among the ternos. a 6 verso was blank. The further description I give from my own copy (belonging to variety d)* A — GG, = *folios* 320, *numbered, contain* Theseo, Romulo, Lycurgo, Numa, Solón, Publicola. *Second foliation* 1—71, = Aaa — Mmm 5: Themistocles, Furio Camillo. *The backs of the leaves* 105. 172. 234. 284. 320, *and, in the second foliation, of* 28. 71. *are blank. Mmm 6 index of the lives. On the back errata. Mmm 7* La orden de los quadernos; *begins:* aAB, *ends:* Todos son ternos, excepto GG, y, Mmm, que son quadernos. *Back blank. Most likely Mmm 8 was not blank, but contained the colophon as variety b. In Gallardo it is said that in all varieties the text has two foliations, 320 + 71 leaves, containing the lives in the order and division which I have related. Folio.*

According to Gallardo there are three other varieties of this same edition (compare de Castro's Hist. d. l. Protest. *p. 260. 261):*

137^{b}. 1551.

The name of the translator is omitted. The year and the woodcut are the same as in the above title. Colophon: Acabose de imprimir ... en ... Argentina en casa de Augustin Frisio a costas d'el señor Pedro de Porres, en el mes de Mayo ... M. D. LI.

A copy, which WIFFEN possessed, seems to belong to this variety. He says that in the dedication Francisco d'Enzinas names himself.

137^{c}. 1551.

The name of the translator is omitted. The year is 1551, the woodcut is a Caballero á caballo mandoble en mano, repartiendo tajos á otros que huyen. *Colophon the same as in* 137^{b}. *Gallardo:* 395^{b}. — sign. desde la 2^{a}, A —. *At the end a woodcut.*

USOZ possessed a copy of this variety according to the description of Wiffen, who says that the woodcut on the reverse of the colophon represents a man on horseback defending himself from a lion.

The description of the fourth variety I give according to my own copy:

137[a]. 1562.

Las vidas de | los ilvstres y excel- | lentes Varones Griegos y Romanos, escritas | primero en lengua Griega por el graue | Philosopho y verdadero histo- | riador Plutarcho de Chero- | nea, y agora nueuamen- | te traduzidas en | Castellano | Por Juan Castro de Salinas. | *[The enseña de la gallina gorda, with* Arnold Birkman's *name in it]* | Imprimieronse en la Imperial Ciudad de Colonia, y | vendense en Anuers en casa de Arnoldo Birc- | man, à la enseña de la Gallina gorda. | M. D. LXII. | *Back blank.*

Second leaf, part of the same sheet: Arnoldo Birckman al beneuolo | Lector. | VNA de las cosas... *Ends on the following page:* siglos que passo. | Dios te guarde.

Leaf Mmm *is reprinted, because Mmm 8, the other half of the same sheet, was replaced by a new leaf containing the colophon:* Acabose de imprimir | las vidas de los ilustres & excelentes Va- | rones Griegos y Romanos parea- | das, en la ciudad Imperial de | Colonia, à costas de los | Herederos de Arnol- | do Birckman. Año | M. D. LXII. | *Reverse blank.*

Total 396 leaves.

BOEHMER's libr.

Brunet mentions, Manuel *t. 4. 1863. col. 741—2, Plutarch's lives* trad. en espagnol par Jean Castro de Salinas, Argentina 1561, ou Colonia y Anveres, 1562, in-fol.

I do not think with de Castro, Hist. de l. Protest. Esp., *p. 116—7, and Gallardo,* Biblt. Españ. *t. 2, col. 924—5, that Franzisco de Enzinas was the translator or the editor of* Las vidas de dos ilustres varones, Simon ... y ... Lucullo ... por ... Plutarco ... traducidas ... 1547. *Gallardo remarks:* La impresion parece de letra del mismo grado y caracter que la de Sebastiano Grifo: Diálogos de Luciano. *In the* Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá, *1872, t. 2, where p. 653 it is said that the name of the printer of that publication of 1547 and the place of the printing are not ascertained, we find on p. 794:* Dialogos de Lvciano, ... traduzidos de Griego en lengua Castellana. Leon, en casa de Sebastiano Grypho, año de M. D. L.

138. 1551. Lucian.

Historia verdadera de Lvciano traduzida de Griego en lengva Castellana. Argentina, Augustin Frisio, M. D. LI.

4.° 4 hojas preliminares y xxxxviii fols. Solo contiene el Libro primero, *é ignoro si se publicó otro.*

Notice given by Pedro Salvá y Mallen in the Catálogo de la biblioteca de Salvá, *Valencia 1872, t. II, n° 1879.*

That Franzisco de Enzinas was the editor and most likely also the translator, is a conjecture of mine.

A. de Castro, Hist. de l. Protest. Españ. *p. 260 f., ascribes to Franzisco de Enzinas a Spanish translation of Flavius Josephus' Jewish Antiquities, Antwerp, Martin Nucio, 1554. But Enzinas would not have translated it from the Latin. One would rather think that the translator was Juan Martin Cordero, who in 1557 edited for the same publisher a Spanish translation of Josephus' Jewish war.*

Letters.

139. 1553.

Caelio Secundo Curioni. Argentinae 8 Januarii.

In: Caelii | Secundi Curio | nis selectarvm epi | stolarum Libri duo. || Basileae, per Io- | annem Oporinum. | *Colophon p. 256:* Anno Domini M. D. LIII. | Mense Martio. | Epistola dedicatoria *is signed:* Basileae, Anno Christi | Seruatoris M. D. | LIII. | *Octavo.*

Dryander's letters: lib. 1. p. 73—74, without year.

GOETTINGEN Univ. The copy has on the title-page the ms. dedication: Clariss. D. Henrichi | Bullingeri filiis. DD. | C. S. C. | *Viz.: Caelius Secundus Curio, whose autograph it is.*

140. 1568.

Three Latin letters to Joachim Camerarius:

Basilea 8 Nov. 1547 [*not, as Strobel quotes,* October]
„ 15 Jan. 1548
Argentina 3 Jul. 1550,

the letter of 1547, on fol. O 1, that of 1548 fol. N 8, that of 1550 fol. N 7, in:

Libellus Nouus, | epistolas | et alia qvaedam | monvmenta doctorvm | superioris & huius aetatis complectens. | Quae scripta omnia eiusmodi svnt, vt eorum | cognitio neq; utilitate caritura, & uo- | luptatem legentibus allatura esse | uideatur. Editus | studio | Joachimi Camerarij | Pabeperg. | Lipsiae | Johannes Rhamba | exprimebat Anno Christi | M. D. LXVIII. | Cum Priuilegio Quinquennij. | *Octavo.*

An Erratum in the first letter is corrected on the last page.

BERLIN Roy.

141. 1570.

Caelio Secundo Curioni. Argentinae 8 Januarii.

In: Olympiae | Fvlviae Moratae || . . . opera || Hyppolitae Taurellae Elegia elegantissima. | Quibus Caelij S. C. selectae Epistolae ac ora- | tiones accesserunt. | ✕ | Basileae | apvd Petrvm Pernam | M. D. LXX. | *Octavo. Dryander's letter among the* selectae epistolae, *lib. 1, p. 333—335.*

BERLIN Roy.

142. 1580.

Caelio Secundo Curioni. Argentinae 8 Januarii.

In: Olympiae | Fvlviae | Moratae . . . || . . . Opera omnia cum eru- | ditorum testimonijs. | Quibus, praeter C. S. C. Epistolas selectas & | orationes: Nunc demum accesserunt, M. An- | tonij Paganutij fabulae ex Aesopo Lati- | nè factae, & Joannis Boccacij | quaedam ex Italico. | ✕ | Basileae. | Ex officina Petri Pernae. | M. D. LXXX. | *Octavo. Dryander's letter among the* epistolae selectae, *lib. 1, p. 333—335.*

BERLIN Roy., LAUSANNE Canton.

143. 1666.

Joanni a Lasko, d. d. 10. Mai. 1541.

In: Epistolarum | ab | Illustribus & Claris | viris | scriptarum | centuriae tres. | Quas passim ex Autographis collegit ac edidit | Simon Abbes Gabbema | *[Woodcut:*

a man sitting before an open book] | Groningae, | Ex Officina Joannis Takoni, | CIↃ IↃC LXVI. |

Centuriae primae epist. XVI, p. 37—43.
HALLE Univ.

I think I have seen a copy with 1663 on the title, another with 1664.

144. 1749.

Johanni a Lasco, d. d. 10. Mai 1541
in Gerdesii hist. reform. t. III., 1749, *in the appended* Monumenta *p. 82—86.*
HALLE Univ.

145. 1843.

Letter to Melanchthon, 10 Aug. 1548, published by David Schulz in Illgen's Zeitschrift für historische Theologie, zweiten Bandes zweites Stück, Leipzig 1832, *p. 240. 241.*

146. 1846.

Five letters of Francis Dryander, the same which are printed in Latin in the Epistolae Tigurinae *of the Parker Society* [*see here* n° 147], *are translated into English, in:* Original letters | relative to the English reformation, |[Translated from authenticated copies of the autographs, | and edited for | The Parker Society, | by the | Rev. Hastings Robinson, D. D. F. A. S. |[The first portion. | >< | Cambridge: | Printed at | the university press. | M. DCCC. XLVI. *Octavo. Letters* CLXX *to* CLXXIV, *pages* 348—355.

P. 350 *at letter* CLXXI, *which is my* XLIV^th^, *where Dryander speaks of a book, published a month or two back, which the English churches received with the greatest satisfaction, Rev. Hastings Robinson notes:* Namely, the first book of Common Prayer. See Liturgies of Edward VI. Parker Society's Edit.

147. 1848.

Francis Dryander's Latin letters

1549 March 25 } *to Bullinger*
— June 5 }
— June 5 *to Vadian*
— Dec. 3 } *to Bullinger*
1552 May 2 }

Epistola CLXX—CLXXIV, *p.* 230—235 *of*

Epistolæ Tigurinæ | de rebus potissimum | ad ecclesiæ Anglicanae reformationem | pertinentibus conscriptæ | a. d. 1531—1558. | Ex schedis manuscriptis | in bibliotheca Tigurina aliisque servatis | Parkerianæ Societatis | auspiciis editæ. | >< | Cantabrigiæ: | typis academicis excudit J. Gul. Parker. | M. DCCC. XLVIII. | *Octavo.*

148. 1865.

Dryander's letter of 24. Nov. 1546 and excerpta of eight other letters of his, in Latin with Spanish translation by Usóz, in the Documentos *to Usóz's translation of the history of Diaz* [here n° **123**], *p.* 126 foll.

1546 Oct. 6 Vadiano.
— Nov. 1. 3. 4. 11. Bullingero
— — 24 *[Bellaio]*
— — 26 Bullingero
— — 28 Vadiano *(p. 138 erratum* 1549 *instead of 1546)*
1547 Oct. 26 Calvino.

149. 1870.

Francisci Dryandri, Hispani, | epistolae quinquaginta. |

In: Zeitschrift für die historische Theologie ... herausgegeben von Dr. Karl Friedrich August Kahnis. Jahrgang 1870. Gotha ... 1870. *Octavo. P.* 387—442. *Two pages introduction by Eduard Boehmer. Besides the text of those 50 letters; 13 others, printed or to be printed, are registered. The 63 letters are dated from 10 May 1541 to 30 October 1552.*

In that publication three letters were signed only as taken from the Thomas-archiv. I now add that they are contained there in the Epistolae variorum, *letter XXXVIII vol. II. 146., letters LXII and LXIII vol. II. 147.*

The codex Ulstetteranus, *containing two letters of Dryander printed in my collection, is now burnt with the Strassburg city library. It was so called from John Ulstetter, son-in-law of Paulus Fagius the elder.*

When I printed those 50 letters, I was not aware that 5 of them (40. 43. 44. 46. 60) had already been printed by the Parker Society, in the original and in an English translation [*see here n°* **147** *and* **146**].

150. 1872.

Fr. Dryander's letter to Martin Bucer, Basileae 15. Jan. 1550, *on p.* 11 *and* 12 *of a* scriptum publicum *of the University of Strassburg, which has the following title:*

Q. f. f. q. s. | Viro summe venerando | Joanni Friderico Bruch | theologiae doctori eiusdemque professori | universitatis Argentoratensis renatae | primo rectori | diem natalem octogesima vice | pie laete feliciter celebrandum | d. XIII. decembris a. MDCCCLXXII | gratulantur | deditissimi omnium ordinum collegae. | Insunt epistolae quaedam | Joannis Sturmii et Hispanorum qui Argentorati degerunt. | Argentorati | typis expressit J. H. Ed. Heitz, universitatis typographus. | 1872. | *Quarto. P.* III—VI *preface signed by the editor* Eduardus Boehmer.

(*P. 11, l. 19 read* frustra *instead of* frusta).

151. 187. .

Franzisco de Enzinas' Letters to Calvin will soon be published in the Thesaurus epistolicus Calvinianus, *edited by the Strassburg theologians.*

Addenda. In the matriculation-book of the University of Basle, now preserved in the Public library there, Franciscus Dryander Hispanus *is found under the year 1546. In the same year* Coelius Secundus Curio *is inscribed. No dates are noted in the whole year.*

John Aurifaber to John Hales, Weimar 26th Dec. 1552: From Strasburg, Francis Driander sends a letter for Philip Melancthon: *[Aurifaber]* requests him *[viz. Hales]* to hand it to him *[viz. to M.]* with his *[A.'s]* own compliments. *Calendar of State Papers, foreign series, of the reign of Edward VI., ed. by Turnbull, London 1861, p. 249.*

The letter of Jan. 31. 1546, above p. 145. 161, is not by Sleidanus, who at that time was not at Antwerp, see State Papers, Henry VIII, part 5 contin. 1852, p. 39.

A German translation of Franzisco de Enzinas' memoir from Campan's edition is being prepared.

JUAN DIAZ.

John Diaz [1]) was born at Cuenca, the birth-place of Juan and Alfonso de Valdés. From his tender youth delighted by studies, he went, after having got in Spain the necessary preparation, to the University of Paris, where he remained thirteen years or more,[2]) thoroughly occupying himself with theology, for which purpose he also learned Hebrew. About this time Melanchthon said: In Paris, and in the other academies of France, there is now a very ardent study of pious doctrine; and although they do not venture to make public profession thereof, yet the students, who read our books, bring forward many things from them in the lessons[3]). It must have been at Paris, and in 1539 or 1540, that James Enzinas brought about a change in Diaz's mind.[4]) In the beginning of 1545 Diaz left Paris and went to Geneva,[5]) where he spent some months in intercourse with

1) See *historia per Senarclaeum* with the introductory epistle of the author and the letters of Diaz himself. What I take elsewhere, I expressly quote. — Franz. Enzinas calls him also *Decius, alioqui Rupeus*, epist. II. (see here note 6); the *Ware Historia* (below note 37) has *Diasius oder Decius.*

2) *Historia per Senarclaeum* p. 27: *Vixit Lutetiae totos tredecim annos aut eo amplius.* Compare the letter to Franzisco de Enzinas, 30 Nov. 1547, from Geneva: . . . *amicitiae, quae mihi ante quattuordecim annos cum* [Johanne] *Diazio coniunctissima fuit.* The contents of the letter prove that the writer was not a Spaniard, and that he lived at Paris when Juan Diaz lived there.

3) I have lost the quotation of this passage, and have tried in vain to find it again in Melanchthon's letters.

4) See note 37 to our article on the two Enzinas and p. 134 ib. That the *historia per Senarclaeum* does not mention this, is to be explained by the cautiousness of the author who knew James Dryander was in Rome.

5) . . . *il abandonna Paris, & se retira en la ville de Geneue auec Matthieu Budé & Jean Crespin, pour voir l'estat de l'Eglise d'icelle.* Page 240 in the *Actes des martyrs* of Jean Crespin, folio-edition of 1565 (see above here n° 126). This passage does not occur in the *Recueil* of 1556 nor in the *Actiones et monimenta* 1560, nor is it taken from the *historia per Senarclaeum.* As Jean Crespin was living in 1565, we are entitled to think it his own addition. On Mathieu de Budé compare Bonnet's note in the collection of Calvin's *Lettres françaises*, t. 1, p. 239 f. Budeus is mentioned in Dryander's letter XXXI. The letter to Dryander,

Calvin[6]), who was much satisfied with his views and highly esteemed his character.[7]) In August he was with Louis and Claude de Senarclens at the possessions of their family at Bursin,[8]) not far from Rolle on the lake of Geneva. Claude had made his acquaintance at Paris and had become his familiar friend; also at Geneva they had been together. With these two brothers Diaz proceeded to Germany by way of Neuchâtel.[9]) He stopped a few days at Basle. In Strassburg he settled down. Nobody was admitted there to the Lord's Supper without publicly defining his confession of faith before the congregation. Whilst Diaz was performing this, he saw standing near him another Spaniard whom he knew rather to be accommodating himself to the creed of the town whither a pestilence had driven him from Paris, than convinced and steadfast. The presence of this fellow-countryman prevailed upon Diaz, not only to assert his own evangelical belief, but to express that he held for heretical all churches which did not acknowledge Christ as the only mediator and redeemer, the only sacrifice and satisfaction, all those in which the pure word of God and the legitimate administration of the sacraments was not found; that therefore he renounced the Pope and his church. Afterwards being alone with the same Spaniard, he said to him: You have been led here by divine providence, my brother, to witness my confession, in order to be induced to do the same for the glory of God and of his church; if however you return to Spain, you can say as an eye- and ear-witness: I have seen in Germany a Spaniard who was a prominent Lutheran and did not even in my presence hesitate to pro-

30 Nov. 1547, is thought to be written by Mathieu or Jean Budé (Ref. Esp. 20, 116); there occurs the passage: *ex quo a Diazio discessi in Lutetia.* — Calvin 1546: *Diazius Hispanus, quem apud Gallasium hic vidisti, Virete* (Ref. Esp. XX, 139). Gallasius is the friend and secretary of Calvin.

6) Enzinas epist. II. written from Wittenberg, 3 Aug. 1545, Calvino Genevae: *Est apud vos pietate ac doctrina praestans vir Johannes Decius Hispanus, quem etsi satis sua virtute apud te commendatum esse sciam, tamen cupiam vel mea causa fieri commendatiorem.* As the end: *literas quas ad Decium nostrum alioqui Rupeum mitto trades.*

7) He writes to Monsieur de Falais, 16th April 1546: *j'ay eu de piteuses nouvelles de la mort du bon Diazius.*

8) Diaz's letter I. Compare note 38.

9) Calvin to Farel, April 1546, Ref. Esp. XX, 139.

fess his Lutheran (if one should not better say Christian) faith, — provided, you venture to hint at your having ever touched these regions. The Spaniard, so addressed, smiled, no doubt thinking, he never would let any such thing transpire in the Eldorado of the Inquisitors.

When, at the end of the year, Martin Bucer was sent by the authorities of the city of Strassburg as their representative at the Colloquy to be held at Ratisbon, he obtained, on his demand, as second deputy Juan Diaz.[10]) Juan's candour and dignified behaviour is praised by all his evangelical friends.[11]) Moreover Cardinal du Bellay, who enjoyed great consideration among these as protector of reformatory tendencies in France, had secured Diaz's cooperation, to be kept informed by his letters on the religious movements in Germany, a task which a judicious and pious man, as Diaz was, could easily fulfil without duplicity and with public benefit.[12])

10) Compare Valerandus Polanus Calvino, [Argentorato] 3 Dec. 1545 (Ms. Genev.): *Bucerus ad colloquium proficiscitur intra triduum aut quatriduum . . . Proficiscitur una cum Buccro Diazius noster et d. Claudius.*

11) A portrait of him is found in Beza's *Icones* 1580, fol. *Kk. ij.* and in Goulard's translation of the Icones: *Premiers martyrs*, p. 239, where only the frame of the portrait differs from the Icones [the Latin and the French in Geneva City libr.]. The portrait in *Praestantium aliquot theologorum, qui Rom. Antichristum praecipuè oppugnarunt, effigies. Quibus addita elogia, librorumq catalogi, operâ Iac. Verheiden. Hagæ Comitis CIↃ. IↃ. C. II.* . Folio. [Geneva City] p. 70, and the portrait in *Jacobi Verheidenii Imagines et elogia, opera Friderici Roth-Scholtzii*, 2ª ed., Hagae Comitum 1725 [Halle Univ.] p. 54, are not simple reproductions of that in Beza's Icones. I could not collate the two editions of Verheiden's work. In conformity with Verheiden's edition of 1725 is the portrait in *VI pars bibliothecae chalcographicae, id est continuatio prima, iconum virorum . . . illustrium . . sculptore Sebastiano Furckio . . . Francofurti, impens. Joh. Ammonii.* This contin. I. appeared about 1650 or in this year in which contin. II was published. [Halle Univ.]. Round the portrait, fol. 12, the words: *Johannes Diazius Hispan. theologus, ob Aũgustanam confessionem a fratre suo Alfonso occisus A. 1546. 27 Martii.* The portrait in Leonh. Meyer's *Märtyrer* Schaffhausen 1664 [Goettingen Univ.] at p. 208 showes the dress of that in Verheiden's second edition, yet not exactly the same, and besides there are two small scenes below, one representing the murder of Diaz, the other the flight of the murderers; signed: *Johan Jacob Sultzer fecit.* I could not confront with each other the portraits by Sultzer and by Furck. From the Icones of Beza is taken the print in the 20th vol. of the *Reformistas antiguos Españoles.*

12) Compare in the life of Enzinas p. 149, and here note 36.

Bucer and Diaz reached Ratisbon before Christmas 1545. Claude de Senarclens, who had stayed with his friend at Strassburg, accompanied him also on this journey. On the papal side there was as defensor for this Colloquium the Spaniard Peter Malvenda; Diaz had known him in Paris; and therefore called on him, together with his friend Senarclens. It lasted a while before Malvenda would believe the fact, that he saw Juan Diaz here, in Germany, in the society of Protestants, and as their champion. To conquer one Spaniard, said Malvenda, was more momentous for the German heretics, than to win tenthousand Germans or numberless proselytes from other nations. He for his part must say, he had grown older in six days in this heretical country than in six years elsewhere. Diaz had still two private conferences with his countryman. Malvenda tried to intimidate him, and advised him, not to wait till the Emperor arrived, but to hasten to meet him and to throw himself in repentance at the feet of the Imperial Confessor. As useless as these exhortations, were the efforts of Diaz, to convert the Romanist. The Pope, said Malvenda, could not err, being vicar of Christ. When I heard this word, says Diaz, I shuddered, and answered with acerbity: What impudence or what folly, to affirm a mortal man, stained with so many crimes, public and private, to be exempt from sin! In spite of the notorious reckless abomination which he daily perpetrates together with his Cardinals, and notwithstanding his many impious decrees which contradict straightway the formal word of God, there are those who really step forth to declare: the Pope is infallible! On the chair of Peter was sitting then Paul III, a man, as opprobrious as the worst among those who now are veiled in the aureole of infallibility.[13])

13) Even Alfonso de Castro in his book against all heresies (see above, Enzinas note 15) protested against the Pope's infallibility. *Lib. 1. cap. 4: Si vero concedet aliquam viam patere qua homo ab errore avocari possit, docerique perperam sacram scripturam intellexisse, quaero a quo docendus erit? Non ab alio homine, quia de quolibet homine causabitur illum decipi, noletque ob id interpretationem eius amplecti. Omnes enim homo errare potest in fide, etiamsi papa sit. Nam de Liberio papa constat fuisse Arianum, et Anastasium papam favisse Nestorianis, qui historias legerit non dubitat. Quod autem alii dicunt, eum, qui erraverit in fide obstinate, iam non esse papam, ac per hoc affirmant papam non posse esse haereticum, est in re seria verbis velle iocari. Ad hunc enim modum quis posset citra impudentiam asserere, nullum fidelem posse in fide errare, nam cum haereticus fuerit, iam desinet esse*

Diaz had already at Strassburg parted with his friends as if he was not to see them again; at this time he drew up his testament, he wrote his confession of faith (printed under the title *Summa*), and in every way prepared himself soon to leave this life. He knew the insidiousness of his enemies. Malvenda reported to the Confessor of the Emperor, the same de Soto whose acquaintance we made in Enzinas' history, and who now was successfully engaged in removing the scruples the Emperor could not yet overcome, regarding a war against the German Protestant princes.[14]) From Soto the Diaz case was learnt by Marquina, another Spaniard who travelled between the Pope and the Imperial court for the exchange of despatches on the intended expedition against the Protestants. He brought the news to Rome where he arrived on February 23.[15]) Thus Alfonso Diaz, who was there occupied at the law court of the *Rota*,[16]) was apprised of what his brother was then doing. Alfonso was Juan's full and only brother, and the elder.[17]) He instantly hurried to Ratisbon, accompanied by a man, who had functioned as executioner.

fidelis. Non enim dubitamus an haereticum esse et papam esse, coire in unum possint, sed id quærimus an hominem, qui alias in fide errare potuisset, dignitas pontificialis efficiat a fide indeviabilem. Non enim eredo aliquem esse adeo impudentem papae assentatorem ut ei tribuere hoc velit ut nec errare aut in interpretatione sacrarum literarum hallucinari possit. Nam cum constet plures eorum adeo illiteratos esse ut grammaticam penitus ignorent, qui fit ut sacras literas interpretari possent? Si ergo in interpretatione sacrarum literarum quilibet homo errare potest, erit necessario iudicium interpretationis penes totam ecclesiam, penes quam ius fuerat discernendi sacras scripturas ab humanis.

14) See Navagiero's *relazione* in Albèri's collection 1,359. Compare Maurenbrecher: *Karl V. und die deutschen Protestanten. Nebst Actenstücken.* 1865. P. 100 f. 168.

15) See the documents in Maurenbrecher's just quoted book p. 69*. cf. 36*. 43*. 44*.

16) With the *historia per Senarclaeum* p. 80 compare the letter of Laetus in our note 36, and Sepulveda, de reb. gestis Caroli V, lib. 19, cp. 37: *Alfonsus Diazius . . . jurisperitus.* Beza Icones 1580, fol. Kk. iii. speaking of him: *Romanae curiae advocato.*

17) His full brother according to Sepulveda ib.: *frater germanus;* to the bill of indictment, see the Pope's letter below here note 26; to Laetus and Sleidanus, see note 36 here; to *Zwei Decret,* see note 37. His only brother according to Bucer, dedicatory epistle of the *historia,* α 3 and 5 and γ 2. According to G. Major's book on the Colloquium, see note 37 here, Alfonso was the elder brother.

In the meanwhile the disputation had been cut short,[18]) and Juan Diaz had left Ratisbon. Alfonso, after a conference with Malvenda, asked Senarclens, who was still there, for Juan's address; there were, he said, news from the court of the Emperor which were very important for Juan's prosperity. Senarclens was very distant, and only after consultation with Bucer and other friends he informed the foreigner, who had not introduced himself as Juan's brother, that Juan was in the neighbourhood of Neuburg on the Danube. He was superintending there the printing of a work of Bucer's;[19]) there he was already on February 25 when he finished his own *Summa.*[20]) Senarclens and other friends gave warning letters for Juan to the postman

18) Compare, with what is related in the *historia per Senarclaeum*, a letter, it is not known by whom nor to whom, dated Ratisbon 28. 12. 1545 (Corp. Ref. 5, 915 f.): *Butzerum comitatus est ad Ratisbonam Hispanus quidam, vir doctus et pius. Is vixit aliquandiu cum Petro Malvenda familiariter in Gallia; postquam autem audivit, eum nomine Caesaris huc venire et fore collocutorem, salutavit eum pro veteri amicitia. Ibi tum Malvenda interrogavit Hispanum quid rerum ipse hic ageret; respondit ille, se huc profectum ut videret claros viros et cognosceret eventum huius colloquii. Malvenda subiecit: quid? colloquium? De colloquio nihil fiet, sed apertum nunc est concilium Tridentinum, ad quod pertinet de his rebus tractare.*

19) *Ut praeesset editioni libri cuiusdam Buceri.* Sleidanus, Comment. l. 17: *ut cuiusdam libri, quem typographo Nuburgensi miserat excudendum Bucerus, emendationi praeesset.* Sepulveda de reb, gestis Caroli V, lib. 19, cp. 37: *huc enim a Bucero missus venerat, ut excusionem cujusdam libri ejus dirigeret.* Le Courrayer in his French translation of Sleidanus' Commentaries says in a note in the beginning of book 17, t. 2, à La Haye 1767, p. 192: *Quelquesuns prétendent, qu'il s'étoit fait Imprimeur, & il est certain du moins, que lorsqu'il fut assassiné, il veilloit à l'Impression de quelque Ouvrage de Bucer; mais il me semble, que c'étoit plutôt comme Correcteur que comme Imprimeur.* No doubt, he is right, and the origin of the error is to be found in a misinterpretation of a passage of the pamphlet written April 17. 1546 on the Diaz murder (see our note 37): *zu Neuburg . . . daselbst er . . . Buceri Schriften . . . in der Buchdruckerei treulich hat helfen fördern . .* Laetus (see our note 36) is more explicit: *Diazium, quem* [Bucerus] *. . . misit Neuburgum . . . , ut ibi librum contra Latomum ederet, et typographo emenderet.* It appeared under the title: *M. Bvceri. De vera et falsa caenae dominicae administratione. Libri II. . . Altera aduersus B. Latomum Responsio.* [Emblem as below n° 152] *Præfatio ad Patres et qui Deum in Synodo Tridentina timent, de causis quæ pios homines ab ea Synodo absterrent. Neuburgi Danubij. VI. Aprilis. Anni Domini. M. D. XLVI.* Under Bucer's preface to the Synod: *Ratisbonæ Xiij Martij. M. D. XLVI.* Under the work: *Ratisbonæ Cal. Martij. Anno Dñi. M. D. XLVI.* Colophon: *Impressum Neuburgi Danubij, apud Johannem Kilianum.* Quarto. Title and prefaces 12 leaves, the work 312 pages. [Strassburg Wilhelmit.].

20) See Veesenmeyer (quoted here n° 157) p. 164.

who accompanied Alfonso, to be handed only to himself. Alfonso however contrived to get these letters even before his departure, read them with Malvenda and destroyed them. Senarclens whom Alfonso when parting had asked to keep secret what they had conversed on, especially from Malvenda, who, he said, was hostile to Juan, forthwith learned what had become of the letters, and all the friends clearly saw the falsehood of the foreigner. Immediately Juan was cautioned by an express. Alfonso gave to his brother a letter of Malvenda, who once more admonished Juan to return, promising him to hush up the business with the Confessor; Alfonso himself tried in all possible ways to draw the apostate back to the pale of the Roman church, also offering him a prebend: it was of no avail. Now he professed to be overpowered by the piety of his brother, and entreated him, to go with him to Italy, where he would be of decisive influence in the cause of the Gospel, whilst without disadvantage to the cause he could be spared from the more fortunate Germany. Juan, not having the slightest doubt of the sincerity of his brother, was full of joy; he did not, however, feel himself at liberty, to take such an important step without conferring with his friends still staying at Ratisbon whose opinion he declared himself ready to follow. They as well as Bernardino Occhino at Augsburg, to whom they wrote, answered, that they must decidedly disadvise this journey. Now Alfonso proposed, that Juan should at least accompany him as far as Augsburg, in order to submit there to what might be resolved by Occhino and a friend of Alfonso. Juan, still unsuspicious, was about to accede to this, when Bucer, Frecht, and Senarclens arrived at Neuburg and prevented him. Alfonso exhorted his brother to constancy in confessing the true religion, pressed a sum of fourteen crowns upon him for new clothes, and left, his eyes full of tears, for Augsburg, in company with his executioner. On the same day Bucer and Frecht set out for home, but Senarclens remained, in order not to leave his friend alone, who was going to finish the printing, before he returned to Strassburg.

Alfonso, on the next morning, always with his inseparable satellite, retraced his way from Augsburg to Pöttmes, a village between Augsburg and Neuburg, three German miles from either of the two places. At Pöttmes they dined with a priest and then went out to

buy a murderous weapon. They saw a joiner at work with his axe, entered into conversation with him, examined his different axes, and at last bought one which seemed the best suited to their purpose. Then they hired horses, in order to spare those on which they had come from Augsburg for a quick ride home, and they rode to a village near Neuburg called Feldkirchen, where they remained during the night. At dawn, — it was the 27th of March , they were at the gate of the town. A groom, whom they had taken with them from Augsburg, was left outside the town with the horses. Alfonso and his lictor went to the pastor's house, where Juan was living. A lad who opened to them was sent upstairs to tell him: there was a messenger with a letter from his brother. Juan had said his evening prayer with particular fervour and minute fullness, and had passed a great part of the night in conversation on sacred matters with Senarclens, with whom he then shared the bed. When the lad brought the news, Juan jumped out, only threw on a mantle and hastened across the floor into the opposite room to receive the letter-bearer. He appeared, introduced by the lad, whom the foreigner directly sent away to fetch a fresh draught of water from the well. He delivered the letter from Alfonso, who in the meanwhile kept watch. Alfonso had written: Juan was not safe at Neuburg, a plot was at work against him, he should come to Augsburg, and as secretly as possible. Juan, to read the letter, had approached the window. The executioner, who had remained behind him, took out the axe as soon as he saw Juan deep in his brother's letter, and with one blow drove it into his temples as far as the helve. The wounded man could not utter a cry, and lest his fall should make a noise, the murderer caught him up and gently laid him on the floor; the axe was left in the wound. As the assassin was stealing downstairs,[21]) Senarclens passed

21) Calvin to Farel 1546, Ref. Esp. XX, 140: *Subsecutus est* [Alphonsus famulum] *domum usque: de caede perpetrata fidem non habuit famulo donec cadaver spectasset ipse.* Compare the woodcut in Rabus, see above here nº 124. Camerarius in the life of Melanchthon 1566, p. 244: *Omnium una voce ferebatur, Hispanum quendam familia Diassium . . . fratrem germanum obtruncandum curasse, se astante oculosque scelerato spectaculo satiante.* This could, however, but be an inference of Senarclens *(audio calcaria parricidarum qui erant in ipsis gradibus).* Compare the relation of the Neuburg authorities written on the day of the catastrophe, below note 39.

by the staircase, for he also had risen and wished to learn what was going on. What a spectacle! ... His friend was looking with dimmed eyes towards heaven, his hands folded. For an hour life continued in him, with faint winks he gave signs of his understanding when one spoke to him of God.

Half an hour after the murder the sheriffs were on horseback. The two murderers gallopped at such a rate that the groom (who had no idea of what had passed) had to give up keeping with them; at Pötmes they changed horses, and had already left Augsburg when the pursuers arrived there. Only one of them, Michael Herpfer, was zealous enough to follow them up. At night, yet four hours from Insbruck, he caught up with them. They had gone to an inn and were sleeping. The landlord, apprised of the facts, awoke them an hour later than they had ordered. In the meanwhile Herpfer had given information to the authorities at Insbruck, and when the murderers had come in, they were arrested, notwithstanding their denial, and the executioner not without bloody struggles. Herpfer hastened back, and the Count Palatine, in whose dominion the murder had been perpetrated, at once sent two representatives to conduct the impeachment.[22]) Alfonso wrote to the Cardinals of Augsburg and of Trent, and protested against his being judged by this court, as he was a clergyman. After several remonstrances of the Palatinate deputies against procrastinations, on April 14 a letter of the Emperor was read to them, dated Dinkelsbühl, April 4, in which the Insbruck judges were ordered, not to pass sentence in this cause, on which he himself was to decide in the diet together with his brother the Roman king. On the 7th, when the Emperor was at Neuburg, the governors of the town demanded by a memorial, that his Majesty should order the Insbruck judges to despatch the cause. Charles, notwithstanding his interference by the mandate of Dinkelsbühl, answered the next day at Ingolstadt: he had not to command at Insbruck, they might apply to his brother the Roman king. The Confession of the martyr, dedicated by himself to the Prince Palatine Otto Henry, was now

22) Calvin to Farel 1546, Ref. Esp. XX, 140: *Dux Otho praefectum palatii misit qui eum* [the murderer] *ad supplicium postularet ... praefectus in carcerem se una dedit.*

published, and pamphlets spread over all Germany the news of this Cain's crime to be imputed to the Romanists if they did not promptly take care to punish the ruffians. In the diet of Ratisbon the Protestant States supplicated the Emperor and the King, not to allow a murder, committed on a person protected by the Imperial safe-conduct, to remain unpunished, but their efforts were without result.

The Emperor's Confessor, Pedro de Soto, writes, on the 25th of June, from Ratisbon to the King. „The sacred nature of this affair", he says, „and the obligation which we all have to the religion, moves me to importune Your Majesty by letters, as I have done with words when You were here. After You left, we learned that the Insbruck authorities put off sending the cause to Your Majesty, wherefore I supplicate Y. M. as humbly as possible, to order that it be done without delay and that the cause shall come to an end, for they are already more than four months in prison, and Y. M. can and must justly and saintly bestow all favour upon them. Our Lord bless You".[23])

On the 28th of September 1546 the Pope wrote to the King.[24]) He relates that it had been represented to him, that Alfonso Diaz and Juan Prieto, clergymen of Cuenca,[25]) had been, on their journey to Italy, detained by secular tribunals, under the pretext that they had murdered Juan Diaz, brother of Alfonso.[26]) The Pope had invited the Cardinal who administered the church of Trent, to get the prisoners delivered to him, and to proceed according to justice. In spite of the claim of the Cardinal, the Insbruck judges had proceeded, and had now submitted the cause to the King. As the Cardinal was too much occupied with the Tridentine Council and with other affairs, the Pope now asks and admonishes the King, to send the accused, at their own cost, together with the acts, to himself, in order

23) Printed in Druffel's *Beiträge zur Reichsgeschichte 1546—1551.* München 1873. Page 11. The editor does not say to what business this letter relates; it is, however, evident, that it is the Diaz case.

24) The document is printed in von Buchholtz: *Geschichte der Regierung Ferdinand des Ersten. Urkundenband*, Wien 1838, p. 388—9. It is evident that the letter is directed to the king. The place, where it was written, can not be Turin, as is printed, but must be Terni.

25) *clerici Conchenses.*

26) *sub praetextu quod quondam Joannem Diaz ipsius Alphonsi fratrem germanum tunc in humanis degentem interfecissent.*

that he, or the judges to be deputed by him in the Roman court, might find what was just.

The later development of the affair we learn from the imperial historiographer Sepúlveda [27]) who by his narrative of the murder confirms in every respect the report of the friend of the slain. Sepúlveda also relates that Alfonso had made the journey from Rome to Germany with the intention to check, in whatever way he could, the disgrace of his brother and the infamy of his family; that he had feigned to be won by Juan's religious convictions; that, when all other means failed, he had resolved to kill his brother, in order, by one crime, to prevent many and much greater evils threatening religion, their family, their home, and all Spain. After having described the murder exactly as in the Senarclens history, Sepúlveda dwells upon the presence of mind which Alfonso had shown in his critical situation at Insbruck, where he had intrepidly answered: unjustly they accused him of a crime, who was most deeply afflicted by his brother's death. The Emperor's historian relates that Alfonso wrote to the Imperial court where, he says, „the news unwelcome to none

27) Sepulveda de reb. gestis Caroli V. 19, 36 sq. Opera t. II. 1780. Dr. Theodor Paur in his book: *Johann Sleidan's Commentare über die Regierungszeit Karls V.* Leipzig 1843. p. 144 f. says: *im 19. Buche* [of Sepúlveda's history of Charles V] *werden die Religionsverhandlungen zu Hagenau und Worms und der Reichstag zu Regensburg (in den Jahren 1540 u. 41) viel oberflächlicher als bei Sleidan, doch unabhängig von diesem dargestellt: unmittelbar darauf folgt fehlerhafter Weise die Ermordung des Joh. Diaz: denn diese geschah erst im J. 1546. Der Irrthum des Sepulveda hat darin seinen Ursprung, dass dem Vorfalle ebenfalls eine Versammlung zu Worms und ein Colloquium zu Regensburg vorausgingen. Diese Verwechselung würde bei einem, der deutschen Verhältnisse unkundigen, spanischen Historiographen weniger auffallen, wenn er nicht versicherte, dass der Mörder Alfonso Diaz einige Jahre später selbst nach Spanien gekommen sei und ihm alle Umstände des Mordes genau erzählt habe. Uebrigens stimmt die Erzählung der Thatsache mit Sleidan so genau überein, dass man sie für einen Auszug aus dem letzteren halten könnte, und wenn Sepulveda schreibt, Alfonso habe ihm zu Valladolid das Ereigniss vollständiger als er es durch andere erfahren, mitgetheilt, so ist zu verwundern, dass er davon nicht mehr, sondern sogar weniger als Sleidan zu erzählen weiss. Wenigstens gewinnt dadurch der Bericht des letzteren ungemein an Glaubwürdigkeit.* Sleidanus is mentioned by Sepúlveda as one of the authors studied by him for the history of Charles. *Sleidanus*, he says, *de rebus potissimum Germanicis memorat, ad fidem historiae satis diligenter, ac potius nimis* (more than Lutheran affairs deserved). Epist. ad Neylam § 5, prefixed to the history of Charles in op. vol. 1, Matriti 1780.

of our party concerning the perpetration of that murder"[28], was already spread, whereupon Charles, „informed of all circumstances", interdicted the court from passing sentence. „And not satisfied by one letter, he took orders for commanding the same thing by a second, so that his wish was easily seen to save Alfonso, whose plan and action he approved of.[29]) So it was brought about by the care of the courtiers and the Catholics, and by the Emperor's humanity[30]), that firstly judgment in this cause was delayed, and then, when Alfonso's clerical character had been ascertained, the affair was transferred to Trent to the bishop, and by all this the zeal and efforts of the Lutherans frustrated. For from Trent Alfonso with his servant[31]) arrived safe at Rome,[32]) whence after some years he returned to Spain. And at Valladolid, in reply to my questions, he told me, first reluctantly, then not unwillingly, and more detail than I had learned from others, the whole course of the matter."

The horror which the honest reader will feel at such principles of morality, Alfonso felt at the last himself. In 1551 he hanged himself at Trent.[33])

28) *de patrata nece nuntius nulli nostrorum ingratus*

29) *cuius animum factumque probabat*

30) *humanitate*

31) *ministro.* Before already: *ministro satellite.*

32) Compare Beza Icones 1580, fol. Kk. iii. on Alf. Diaz: *tam immani scelere ... non modo non vindicato, sed etiam Romae digno cui gratia referretur habito, ut quo spiritu ducantur Romani pontifices, amplius ambigi non possit.*

33) Johannes Manlius in his *Locorum communium collectanea* s. l. 1564 (Halle Univ. libr.) t. II. p. 156 relates as told by Philipp Melanchthon (see preface of that tome): *Alfonsus Diasius, qui anno 1546. fratrem suum Joannem Diasium interfecerat Neoburgi in Bavaria, propter solam Evangelii confessionem, cum ipse Alfonsus versaretur in aula Pontificis: in iudicio Rotae. Postea vero anno 1551. se ipsum interemit in concilio Tridentino. Inventus est enim se ipsum suspendisse a collo suae mulae.* This is combinable with what Sepúlveda states that his interview with Alfonso took place at Valladolid; in this town the historian stayed between 1546 and 1551. *Martyrvm historia. Authore Heinrico Pantaleone,* Basileae 1563 (the same year at the end of the book), p. 173: *Alphonsus ... Anno 1552* [sic] *in concilio Tridentino inventus est se ipsum suspendisse, idque a collo suae mulae, ut Jo. Manlius diligens Phil. Melanchtonis dictorum observator aedito libello prodidit.* Rabus appears not to have been informed of such an end of Alfonso, when he wrote, *Historien, Ander Theyl,* 1554 (preface dated Strassburg 1 march 1554), fol. CCC: it was superfluous to tell how the two murderers fled and were emprisoned, *aber durch die Baals Pfaffen ... entledigt worden seyen. Ob sie wol aber noch*

A relative of Juan Diaz, Fernando Diaz Paterniano, lived at the end of 1547 and in the beginning of 1548 with Franzisco de Enzinas.[34])

Juan Diaz had ordered in his last will that the *Annotationes theologicae,* written by himself, should be sent to Franzisco de Enzinas.[35]) It seems, this manuscript was lost and never printed.

His small Summa takes the following train of thought. The two principal articles of Christian religion are: that God be duly reverenced and that men know where to find salvation. Spiritual worship is served by ceremonies which help the body. The knowledge of our salvation consists in three things: the feeling of our own misery, the knowledge of Christ, the complete faith in him. To this as well as to the worship of God we are led by three other things. First: doctrine, in the bible, symbols, the four councils, the holy fathers. Secondly: administration of the two sacraments instituted by Christ as symbols and instruments of his benevolence and merit. Thirdly: church-government, which has two cardinal points: a good magistrate and a faithful minister of the gospel.

zur zeyt weltlicher straff enttruñen, werden sie doch gewiszlichē dem Allmechtigen Gott . . nit entgehen. In the edition of 1572 Rabus relates the suicide of Alfonso after Manlius' Collectanea, but, like Pantaleon, as occurred in 1552, and the same year is given there in the verses, appended to the Zurich ones, on Juan's death (Fol. 705. 706).

34) Enzinas' letter XXXIII. Letter to Enzinas 30 Nov. 1547. Utenhovius Dryandro, 3 March 1548: *Saluta . . . ex me d. Dyasium.*

35) See a letter to Fr. Enzinas, 30 Nov. 1547,

In the city library of Zurich is a copy of the *Κανόνες τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων συνόδων, Parisiis per Conradvm Neobarivm, regivm typographvm. M. D. XL.* Quarto, with notes by Juan Diaz's hand. A manuscript notice on the title says: *Eram olim doctissimi et piissimi viri et sanctissimi martyris Joannis Diazii Hispani, qui Neoburgi a germano fratre Alphonso Diazio solius religionis ergo nefario planeque Cainico parricidio obtruncatus est. Nunc vero sum Rod. Gualtheri Tig. ex dono Huldrychi Zuinglii Junioris 1549.* The same hand has written on fol. *α* where the *Κανόνες* and the manuscript notes begin: *Haec ipsius Diazii manu scripta sunt.* The notes, marginal and interlinear, running over the six leaves of the 85 apostolic canons and on the first page of the then following Nicaene canons, are interesting as proving his studies. They give various readings and correctious of the Greek, explanations in Latin, quotations of the bible, of Ignatius, Hieronymus, Gratianus.

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36) *From private letters on the Diaz murder.*

Georgius Laetus, archigrammateus Augustae Vindelicorum, Bullingero, 1. Aprilis 1546 (ms. Turic. Siml., according to Professor W. Baum's copy): Proh dolor,

quid accidit nudius tertius? Bucerus fovit quendam Hispanum apud se, nomine Joannem Diazium, quem ex Ratisponna misit Neuburgum ad Danubium situm, ut ibi librum contra Latomum ederet, et typographo emendaret. Habuit autem Joannes ille Diazius fratrem germanum Alphonsum, doctorem et consiliarium Romanae Rotae ut vocant, qui Neuburgum ipsum convenit et per XIV dies amice et blande quidem cum illo victitavit, volens illi persuadere ut secum Romam rediret et religioni Papae se rursum addiceret, cum autem neque blanditiis neque muneribus apud fratrem quicquam efficeret, discessit, et fratrem XIV coronatis donavit -ne forte quid mali de eo suspicaretur. Ecce altero die mane sub diluculo redit Alphonsus cum famulo ad portas civitatis Neuburgi, atque, quam primum eaedem aperiebantur, famulus pedester ingreditur recta ad aedes Joannis Diazii, simulans se ab Alphonso aliquid in mandatis accepisse quod illi diceret, heri autem oblivioni tradidisse, cumque sceleratus ille servus bonum illum Joannem a lecto prodeuntem necdum indutum reperisset, securi quadam caput eius in duas fere partes totum secavit, atque festinanter ad Alphonsum fratricidam ante valvas expectantem reversus est, et ambo evaserunt. Quanquam vero nonnulli latrones illos pernices insequantur, tamen vix credo eos iam apprehendi posse, quia attigerunt regis, et episcopi Augustani ditiones. *Postscript:* Fratricida iste cum servo in Inspruck captivi tenentur, quomodo autem justitia illic erga eos administrabitur, tempus docebit.

Sleidanus wrote to the Cardinal du Bellay from Strassburg on April 27, 1546: Hispanus ille Diazius, tuus alumnus, 27 die Martii jussu fratris sui germani est interfectus supra Ratisbonam, eo quod nollet ad pontificatum redire. Longa est historia, sed est primum exemplum ejus generis quod in Germania sit editum. *And to the same, Strassburg May 10. 1546:* Frater parricida Diazii tui Hispani cum famulo percussore detinetur captivus Oeniponti in ditione Ferdinandi, et rumor est ipsos liberatum iri. Quod si fiat, aestimare potes quae sint hominum futura judicia. *These letters have been printed for the first time by L. Geiger in* Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte. *Bd. X, 1870, see p. 189. 191.*

I have, above here in notes 21 and 22, given two remarkable passages of Calvin's letters.

37) *The contemporary press in German on the Diaz murder.*

Wie newlich zu New | burg jn Beiern einer | genant Alphonsus | Diasius seinen bru | der Johanem grausamlich | ermort hatt, | allein aus has Wider die | Einige Ewige Christliche lahr, | wie Cain den Abel ermordet. | *A woodcut: Cain slaying Abel. s. l. e. a. [1546]. Quarto, four leaves, including title. Colophon:* Geschrieben Anno. 1546. am XVII tag Apri | lis, Daran vor 3852 Jar Nohe jn die Ar | ca getretten ist, Durch welchs exempel | Gott bewisen, vnd vns will erinnert haben | das wir glewben vnd wissen sollen, | vnd darumb bitten, Das Got | selbs die Kirch wünderbar- | lich erhalten wöl, wenn | gleich die welt jn hau | ffen felt. *[Ponickau collection in Halle University library]. — Another edition:* Ware Historia | Wie newlich zu New- | burg an der Tonaw ein | Spanier, genant Alphō | sus Diasius, oder Decius, seinen leib- | lichen bruder Johannem, allein ausz | hasz wider die einige, ewige Christ- | liche lehr, wie Cain den A- | bel, grausamlich ermördet | habe. Geschriben von | Herrn Philippo Melanthon. | 1546 | *s. l. Quarto, four leaves, title included. Colophon:* Geschriben Anno 1546. am xvij. tag Aprilis, | Daran vor 3852. Jar Nohe in die Arca getret- | ten ist *etc. as in the before described edition, only with other division of lines, the last words of which are these:* bewisen, vnnd | ... glauben vnd | ... bitten, Das | ... wun- | ... wöl, | ... die | ... hauf | ... felt. *[In the same Ponickau collection]. — A third variety:* Ware Historia. |

Wie newlich zu New- | burg an der Tonaw eyn Spanier, genant | Alphonsus Diasius, oder Decius, | seinen leiblichen Brůder Johañem, al- | leyn vsz hasz wider die einige, ewi | ge Christliche lehr, wie | Cain den Abel, | grausam- | lich ermördet habe. Geschrie- | ben von Herrn Philip- | po Melanthon. | *A woodcut representing Cain slaying Abel, not the same as in the first mentioned copy. S. l. e. a. Quarto, four leaves, title incl. Colophon as in the other two editions; end-words:* . . . Daran | . . . Durch | . . . ha- | . . . da- | . . . Kirch | . . . wöl, | . . . welt | . . . hauffen | felt. | *[In the possession of Professor Bindseil at Halle a. S.] Reprinted in the Corp. Ref. t. XX. 1854, col. 515—518. — In vol. VI. 1839, col. 113—4 the same* Historia *is reprinted from a printed copy, at that time preserved in the library of the gymnasium at Gotha, now lost; the reprint shows the same text as the three varieties described here before. I cannot now tell whether Neudecker,* Merkwürd. Aktenstücke, *1838, p. 772 or 774 is speaking of th same printed Gotha copy or of a manuscript in the same Gymnasial library; at all events, neither a manuscript nor a printed Diaz history is at present preserved there, as the librarian writes me.*

Another tract is the following. [Ornament] Ein erbermlich | geschicht, wie ein Spaniöli- | scher, vnd Rhömischer Doc- | tor, vmb des Euange- | lions willen, seinen | leiblichen bruder | ermordt hat. | Mit einer vorrede Doctor | Johan Langen zu Erf- | furt Ecclesiasten. | Anno M. D. XLVI. | *Colophon:* Gedruckt zu Erffurd, durch | Merten von Dolgen, zum | Gülden mohr, bey | dem Prediger | Thor. | *[Ornament].* Two sheets unnumbered. Quarto. *[Berlin Roy.] Another title of the same tract has* Römischer *instead of* Rhömischer *[Berlin Roy.]. Reprinted in Hortleder's collection on the German war of 1546 f., 2d ed. 1645 [Halle Univ.], Theil 2, Buch 3, Kap. 1, p. 236—240 (not in the first edition). This narrative, which J. Lange has accompanied with a preface, dated* Sonnabend in Ostern *(= 24 April), seems to have been written a few days after the murder (see:* auff den freytag *fol.* B ij), *and contains some notices which can be added to the Senarclens report, which for the rest remains decisive also against some other statements of this pamphlet. We point out the interesting details fol.* B iij: in Leonhart Rochlingers Haus, do sein Bruder Johan Diasius zur Herberg gelegen *at Neuburg, when he was murdered; and ib.* der Cammermeister, odder voigt zu Newburgk, Michel Herpffer, einer vom Adel. *It is on the other hand certain that in the Wittenberg University Album as edited by Foerstemann, Juan Diaz is not found from Melanchthon's rectorate in 1538 to April 1546.*

Incidentally the Diaz case is urged in writings on the Ratisbon colloquy, published in the same year. Ein warhaffter berichte vom Colloquio zů Regenspurg. Martin Bucer *[author].* M. D. XLVI. *s. l. Quarto [Ponickau libr.]. fol.* A iij: . . . Petter Maluenda (der den frommen martyr Diazium zů seiner herrlichayt, trewlich befordert) . . . *In the same year another edition:* Ein warhafftiger berichte vom Colloquio zu Regenspurg. Martin Bucer. *s. l. Quarto. [Leipzig Univ.] fol.* A. iij: . . . Peter Maluenda (der den frommen martyr Diazium zu seiner herlicheit, trewlich befordert) . . . *Compare how Bucer characterizes Malvenda in a letter written 15th March 1546, printed in Neudecker's* Merkwürdige Aktenstücke, *1838, p. 711 f. And George Major in his* Bericht von dem Colloquio, *edited Wittenberg 1546 [Bindseil's libr.], reprinted in Hortleder's collection, 2d ed. 1645, Theil 1, Buch 1, Kp. 40 (p. 573 the marginal reference to Sleidanus is not found in that edition of 1546), says after having spoken of Cain and Abel, fol.* A IV: Wie jtzt auch, nach diesem vnsern Colloquio, kürtzlich geschehen, das zween Brüder, Hispanier, einer, der elter Alphonsus Diasius genant, des Babsts diener, seinen bruder Johan-

nem Diasium ein fromen Gottfürchtigen man, mir vnd vielen andern wol bekant, eben vmb dieser *[evangelischen]* lere willen, vnd keiner andern sachen halben, zur Neuburgk in der Pfaltz, auch jemerlichen ermordt, vnd doch von der oberkeit vnter welcher er eingezogen, vngestrafft bliben, als, der do recht gethan, das er ein Ketzer erwürget habe.

Moreover we read in: Zwei Decret des Trientischen Concili ... Erkent auff den viij. Aprilis dises Jars ... Gedruckt zů Strasburg in Knoblochs druckerei, Durch Georg Messerschmid ... M. D. XLVI. *Quarto. [Strassburg, Wilhelmitana]. Folio* A ij: Nun wie frei vnd sicher der platz *[des Concilii]* seie, hastu daher wol abzůnemen, das durch den Papst, vnd dises Concilij leut ist bishår so fil geschaffet, das der Rômisch Hispanier Alphonsus Dietz, mit seinem mordtdiener, Johañ Valdesio, zů Insbruck, nun seit dem xxviij tag des Mertzens nit hat môgen gerichtet werdē, Der ein so ein grewlichen Cainischen mord an seinem leiblichen, einigē, christlichē brůder Johann Dietz, zů Newburg an der Thůnaw hat begangen, Da er den selbigen seinen brůder durch seinen mordtdiener mit einem beihel in sein hirn geschlagen, weil [= *während*] er den brieffe lesen wolt, den er jm durch den mordtiener gesant hat, ermôrden lassen, vnd den mordtdiener dieweil vff der stegen [*al.* stiegen] verhůtet [= *behütet*], Welches geschehen ist den xxvij. des Mertzens dises Jares. *Ends:* Es hat auch dis h. Concili geordnet vnd erkant, das die nehist künfftig Sitzung solle feria quinta, das ist, den Donstag nach dem h. Pfingstag, gehalten werden. *(Therefore Thursday 17th June). There are two other editions of this publication, printed in the same year, which have the quoted passage, with insignificant variations; the one (in the collection of Professor Bindseil, Halle a. S.) has at the end* Dornstag *instead of* Donstag, *the other (in the Leipzig Univ. libr.) has* Dinstag, *both have* Dietz. — *The name* Hans Valdesius *for the murderer occurs, also in the poem on the Diaz murder (below n°* 158*), reprinted in Rabus' martyrology 1572, t. 2; and in a marginal note of the prose text of the Diaz history already in the first edition of Rabus'* Historien, Ander Theyl, *1554, fol.* CCLXXXV: Etliche historien nennen jn Johanem Valdesium. *His name was, however, Juan Prieto; see the papal letter above here p. 196. — The* Zwei Decret *are reprinted by Hortleder, book 1, chapter 45.*

38) *Claude de Senarclens.*

Mr. A.-L. Herminjard in the Prospectus et spécimen, *published Genera 1864, of his work* Correspondance des réformateurs, *p. 14, on occasion of a letter of Calvin who writes about the end of April 1545:* Claudius meus Senarclensis Witeberga mihi scripsit ..., *has the following note.* Claude de Senarclens, gentilhomme du Pays de Vaud, né environ l'an 1519, renonça de bonne heure aux dignités ecclésiastiques auxquelles il était appelé par son oncle maternel, l'abbé de Saint-Jean de Cerlier, et fit son éducation à Bâle sous la direction du savant professeur Oporin, qui le mit en relation avec Calvin. Après avoir visité l'Allemagne, Senarclens rentra dans sa patrie et se fixa pour quelque temps à Genève, logeant dans la maison de Calvin et remplissant parfois auprès de lui les fonctions de secrétaire ... *I do not know what authorities the learned editor of the correspondence of the reformers has had for these statements; that which I have been able to find, is the following.*

Claude de Senarclens studied at the University of Basle in the year 1537. Dr. Sieber, chief librarian of the Public library at Basle, who has often kind by assisted me, has, on my demand, looked through the original matriculation-book of

the University of Basle, and found, under the rectorate of Andreas Bodenstein von Carlstadt in 1537, close together the names:

Ludewicus de Senarchino
Claudius de Senarchino.

Dr. Sieber remarks that several names of this year are disfigured, for instance a native of Unterwalden is called Witterwaldensis.

A careful article, throwing light on the Senarclens family, by M. L. de Charrière, is found in his book: Les fiefs nobles de la baronnie de Cossonay, *Lausanne 1858, with a supplement contained in the same scholar's* Mélanges, *Lausanne 1870, volumes 15 and 26 of the* Mémoires et documents publiés par la Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande. *The author says (t. 15, p. 206):* Le village ... de Senarclens faisait .. partie de la châtellenie de Cossonay. L'ancienne famille, à laquelle ce village a donné son nom, existe encore. C'est la seule, des antiques familles féodales de la baronnie, que le temps ait respectée. Elle apparaît au XII^e^ siècle. *The only mention of Claude de Senarclens that I found in M. de Charrière's books, was where he touches upon the infeudation of the priory of Perroy, in favour of that nobleman, granted the 8th Decembre 1548 by their Excellencies of Berne (t. 26, p. 39). In summer 1873 I visited the castle of Vufflens belonging to the Senarclens family, where in a few days the annual meeting of the* Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande *was to be held. There are no old documents whatever, the archives having been burnt about 80 years ago. M. Eugène de Senarclens had the kindness to lead me from his castle to the country-seat of M. L. de Charrière in the village Senarclens. M. de Charrière informed me that Claude de Senarclens had married a lady of Neuchâtel and had issue which is extinct, and that he was told, Claude's Album was now in the Geneva city library. I soon had it there in my hands.*

Before the title leaf of the Album a genealogy was written in the year 1702, from which I copy the following:

n. et puiss^t^ Francois de Sinarclens Seigneur de Grandcy de Dullit et caetera espousa l'an 1509 Andreane fille de n. Pierre de Benè et de n. Jaquemette de Diesse

n. Louys de Sinarclens seigneur de Grancy et Dullit espousa [1565 *in the margin*] Marcionne fille de n. et p^t^ Antoine de Charnoz ...

Francois ...

Francois de Sinarclens Seigneur de Vufflens ... *He is the first who here is so called.*

Claude de Sinarclens seigneur du Rosay et du priore de Perrueys, c'est celuy cy a qui les souhait des cy apres nomme sont faits.

Nothing on his descendence neither here nor at the end of the book, where other genealogical notices occur, and among them his brother Louis.

It is clear, Louis was the elder brother. Also in the Basle matriculation book he is placed first.

On the title-leaf is written, no doubt an autograph: Claudius à Synarclens. *Another hand has added:* anno 1540 incepit studere Logicam.

The inscriptions are Bible-verses and pious reflexions. I give all the names in the order of the original, and the dates where there are any.

Luther *1545. He writes some verses from the first psalm, a fact which is significative under the circumstances.*

Melanthon *1545, April 17.*
Mart. Bucer
Joh. Bugenhagius *1545*
Casp. Cruciger
Jo. Brentius *1546 Ratisb.*
Erhardus Schnepffius 1546 in colloquio Ratisbonensi
Petrus Martyr
Bernardinus Ochinus
Theodorus Bibliander *1548 march 13*
Heinrychus Bullingerus Tigurinae ecclesiae minister, D. Claudio a Senarcklens, in argumentum nunquam intermoriturae amicitiae *1548 march 14.*

Bullinger's hand is recognizable also outside on the parchment-cover of the book; the faded lines seem to contain only Bible-verses.

Conrad. Pellicanus.
Rod. Gualtherus Tigurinus Tigurinae ecclesiae minister, Claudio a Senarclens amico veteri amicitiae ergo scribebat. *1548, march 16*
Petrus Viretus. *1561, Septemb. 26*
(A chirographum Huldrychi Zvinglii *is stuck in).*
Christophorus Comes Palatinus ad Rhenum Boariae dux cet. scribebat haec suo Claudio Senarcleo 15 Julij Rollae Anno 1568.
Haec viro nobili et docto D. Claudio Senarcleo Domino in Rosay cet. in memoriam contractae amicitiae scribebam Otto ab Hæůel Westualus, et Ill^ss^. p. D. Chr. pal. in praef. scribebam in arce Rollana 15 Julij. A°. 1568.
Florentius Comes de Culemborch. *1569, August 2^d^.*
Otho Comes Solmisius. *1569, Aug. 2^d^.*

We have seen in the life of Diaz, that Claude de Senarclens made the acquaintance of this Spaniard at Paris.

In 1545 Claude was sent by Calvin to Wittenberg and Strassburg in an important affair. There was a party among the Protestants in France who thought that, as it was dangerous for them to live according to their convictions, they were allowed to accommodate themselves externally to the papistical rites; they alleged the example of Nicodemus, S. John's gospel ch. 3. Already in 1543 Calvin had published a treatise against these so called Nicodemites, and another one in 1544 (see Corp. Ref. vol. 34, p. XXX f.) About the beginning of the year 1545 Capnius (Antoine Fumée, Seigneur de Blandé), in the name of many French congregations, wrote a letter to Calvin, in which he says (Corp. Ref. vol. 39, col. 827 f.): hoc unum te maxime rogo, et ecclesiarum nostrarum nomine te obtestor, ut quam primum fidelem aliquem et hoc munere maxime dignum ad Martinum, cuius sententiam plerique inprimis literis consignatam videre cupiunt, Melanchthonem et Bucerum, quibus merito omnes multa tribuunt, cum his tuisque literis deleges, ... sciantque nos non ..., illosque nos tanti facere, ut eorum certo responso non minus quam prophetarum oraculis teneri non dubitent... Num liceat missae interesse... *He adds (829):* Non parcas sumptibus, et id omne quod impenderis resarciam et reddam quantum iusseris, atque ita me abunde facturum meam fidem do. *Calvin answered (for I should think that the letter which the Strassburg editors undoubtedly are right in thinking to have been written in January, but which they say is addressed* incerto, *was directed to Capnius):* Quod postremis tuis literis postulabas, an exsequi deberem, aliquantisper haesitavi. Longum enim est iter, asperum et difficile. Non ante diem vicesimum

nuncius illuc *[to Wittenberg]* equo perveniet. Quemlibet autem mittere sine delectu, periculosum erat. Erronibus aut levibus nulla fides, pauci autem alii reperiuntur. Linguae imperito molestissima esset via, summa etiam ubique propter anni sterilitatem caritas. Ego a pecunia nequaquam instructus . . . Huc accedebat quod iam dixi, tempus consulendi Lutheri esse adhuc alienum, quia animus vixdum bene a contentionis fervore resedisset. Verum quum tam vehementer instares, totque obtestationibus me urgeres ut facerem, nihil mihi prius fuit quam votis tuis morem gerere. Ab honesto et non indocto adolescente impetravi, ut hanc molestiam subiret mea causa. Libellos meos ad verbum in linguam latinam verti, quos adiunxi meis literis, ut inde iudicarent. Nec aliud petii meis literis, nisi ut libere simpliciterque quod sentiant proferant: nisi quod adiunxi, nequaquam mihi gratum facturos si quam mei haberent rationem. Vix ante duos menses redibit nuncius. Quadraginta enim dierum viam habet conficiendam. Quatriduum ad interquiescendum assigno. Reliquum temporis consultationi cedet. Vale. (Corp. Ref. 40, 25. 26). *We have seen above (p. 188) that Claude de Senarclens was at Geneva in the beginning of 1545. Calvinus Farello, 21 of January:* Quoniam Claudio nostro mandavi, ut tibi copiose omnia exponat de quibus per alium scripturus essem, non utar longiore epistola. Si tibi prima specie displicebit meum in ipso mittendo consilium, scito me hac ratione adductum esse, quod, quum scirem, aut saltem suspicarer, eos a quibus rogatus fui hoc facturos nisi eorum voluntati morem gererem, antevertere malui. *The editions of 1617 and 1667 date this letter from 1546, but it is evident that it belongs to 1545, and I should think Herminjard was aware of it, when he wrote l. c. p. 14:* Ces letters *[of Calvin]* étaient aussi destinées, à devancer auprès des frères d'Allemagne les démarches des réformés français. *Calvinus Vireto 4 Non. Febr. (Corp. Ref. 40, 27):* Melanchthoni quoque postea scripsi diligenter per Claudium Senarclenium quem alia de causa illuc mittebam Nam quorundam amicorum rogatu a Luthero, Melanchthone et Bucero petivi ut de libello meo . . . sententiam nobis suam perscriberent. Non quia mihi placeret ipsos consulere, aut quia spes aliqua successus foret. Verum quum id iam in animum induxissent Galli, sciebam omnino facturos. Malui igitur ut ex re ipsa potius iudicarent quam causa inaudita. *Viretus Calvino, Lausanne 7th Febr. (col. 28):* Senarclenium missum abs te scribis ad Melanchthonem, quod hactenus ignoravi. Miror quod illuc proficiscens hac iter non fecerit. *Calvinus Vireto, Geneva 12th Febr. (col. 32):* Exemplar literarum quas Luthero et Philippo scripsi ad te mitto, ut inde intelligas cur ad eos Claudium miserim. *Calvin's letter to Melanchthon (col. 12:* Januario 1545 „Sic Codd. Edd. habent: 12. Cal. Febr.") *begins (col. 9):* Cur hic nobilis et pius adolescens profectionem hanc meo rogatu ad vos susceperit, paucis exponam. *Melanchthon's answer (among his letters Corp. Ref. 5, 734 f., and with Calvin's works Corp. Ref. 34, 621 f.) is dated April 17, the same day on which he inscribed himself in Claude's Album. Bucer's assent to Melanchthon's answer is written on the 8th of May (ib. 626). Melanchthon's, Bucer's and Peter Martyr's* responsa *were appended to Calvin's book* de vitandis superstitionibus, *published 1549 (see Corp. Rf. 34).*

Senarclens soon made friends in Saxony. Crodelius, writing from Torgau to Calvin, on the 6th of March, calls him „our Claudius" (Corp. Ref. 40, 41: Caetera Claudius noster coram exponet). *During the time of Claude's stay, Franzisco de Enzinas returned to Melanchthon's house (see above p. 144), and, if they had not yet known each other at Paris, they must have become friends at this time. Diaz mentions on 29th of August 1545 a recent letter of Enzinas to Senarclens.*

On the 7th of August 1545 Diaz writes from Bursin to Calvin: Te salutat Claudius noster et mater cum tota familia. — *In the* Memoires de Pierrefleur, publiés par Verdeil, *Lausanne 1856, we read p. 11. on the troupes of Berne and Fribourg going to assist the city of Geneva against the* gentilshommes de la confrairie de la culier *in the year 1530:* Apres le sesjournement de Morges prindrent leur chemin droit à Geneue, et en allant bruslerent la maison du Seigneur de Sinarclens, estant à vn village appellé Bursin qui estoit fort belle maison de plaisance; fust aussi bruslée la maison an seigneur d'Aliffand (d'Aruffens) estant à vn village appellé Binet (Begnins). Aussi fust bruslé le chasteau de Rolle et plusieurs autres audit voyage.

On Claude's journey to and in Germany together with Juan Diaz we have reported above.

Some more notices on Claude will probably be afforded by Calvin's correspondence of 1545 and the following years. By the kindness of Professor Reuss I had the advantage to use and to quote here the proofsheets of vol. 40 of the Corpus Ref. down to March 1545.

Claudius *in Polanus' letter to Calvin, 3d Dec. 1545, is Senarclens.*

Juan Diaz himself mentions Claude's presence at Ratisbon, writing from there on the 8th of Febr. to Falesius: Te officiose salutat Nobilis Senarcleus, *and on the 9th to Calvin:* Salutant te omnes fratres, ... noster etiam Senarcleus.

The form Senarcleus *is used in Claude's epistle to Bucer, prefixed to the* Historia Diazii. (Sernacleus *in a letter to Fr. Dryander, 30th Nov. 1547). On the title of this publication and in Bucer's dedication of the work he is written* Senarclæus. *In a letter to Farel, April 1546, Calvin says:* duobus Senarclenis; *in a letter to Fabri, April 1545, he writes* Claudius Senarclensis.

In the verses in Froschouer's at Zurich publication on Juan Diaz [here n° 158] *we read:* Ein Edelmann von Senarcklens | Geboren in Saphoischer grentz | Jung, Gottsförchtig, Claudi genannt, | ... *Sleidanus in the narrative on Diaz, Comment. l. 17:* Claudius Senarclaeus, adolescens nobilis, Sabaudus. *Only in 1536 the Savoy government in the Pays de Vaud ceased and the country went under Bernese dominion.*

It may be mentioned that the maison-forte de Senarclens *with dependencies and the* conseigneurie *of Itens was about 1549 sold by Dame Rose de Cossonay to Claude and Gauchier Farel, brothers of the celebrated reformer Guillaume Farel. See Pierrefleur's* Mémoires *p. 322. 402, and Charrière in the quoted volumes 15, 240 f. 26, 31 f.*

Joh Oporinus writes to Conrad Hubert at Strassburg, 25th Juli 1550 (original letter in the Thomas-archiv, Strassburg): ... huic praesentium literarum latori, viro nobili, summae fidei, et singulari amico nostro, uti committatur, qui bona fide quicquid ei meo nomine committetur curabit. Vocatur autem Junckher Ludwig (Senarclin) von Roll (frater est Claudii Senarclei qui aliquamdiu egit apud vos etiam), ex ditione Bernensi. *The words which I have bracketed, were added by Oporinus between the lines, and were referred by him to the places where I have inserted them.*

As for the authorship of the Historia Diazii, *first of all we find the following passages in the publication itself. In the epistle, inscribed* ... Bucero ... Senarcleus, *this one says p. 2 f.:* ... historiam quam a me tuis literis postulasti, de morte sancti viri Joannis Diazij, suscepi scribendam. Eam igitur ad te mitto, teque maiorem in modum oro, id quod etiam pernecessarium esse arbitror, ut tuis literis hoc exemplum posteritati commendetur. Ego prima duntaxat lineamenta duxi, ut veram et simplicissimam rei gestae imaginem, qui rebus pene omnibus interfui, hoc

tenui scripto, quasi primis et incultis lineis adumbrarem. Ad tuum officium videtur nunc pertinere, doctiss. Bucere, cuius maior est apud omnes bonos & gratia & autoritas, easdem ipsas lineas vivis coloribus illustrare. *Subscription: Ratisbon 10th May 1546. In the prefixed dedication-letter Bucer says, fol. α* 3: Haec igitur perpendens Claudius Senarclaeus, iuvenis eruditione ac virtute praestans, qui caeteris pietatis officiis generis sui nobilitatem studet exornare, voluit et se, et secum item non paucos ab isto nefario scelere dissimulatae gloriae Christi in suis martyribus liberare . . . Historiam enim vitae illius *[Diazii]* et mortis, breviter quidem, sed vere, religiose, atque eleganter perscripsit. *Another passage of this dedication, fol. α* 4: ipse quoque et in eodem oppido, et propter idem regni Christi studium, indignissima et crudelissima perpessus es, quantum iudicare possum, non sine ingenti malicia eius Cainicae generationis, cuius manibus scimus paulo ante sanctum illum virum indignissima fuisse morte peremptum, *hints to the Smalcaldian war and the excesses of the Imperial troops at Neuburg, which town had been delivered to them on the 19th of September; the palace was also plundered (see Schertlin's* Schmalkald. Kriege *in the* Scriptores rer. German. ed. Mencken., *t. III, col. 1433—38). The typographical arrangement shows that Bucer's dedication has been printed after the letter of Senarclens to him had been printed. The printing of the book had not begun on the 6th October, see Dryander's letter V; on the 1. of Nov. he writes that it was in the press, letter VII; on the 11th Diaz's Confession* sola ad perficiendum libellum desideratur, et cogitur prelum interquiescere donec eam alicunde nanciscamur, *therefore also the dedication (and the title, on which the Summa is not mentioned) was printed. The* Summa *was sent by Bibliander, and on the 26th Dryander sends copies of the whole book to Zurich (letter XIII). On the 6th of Dec. he writes to Bullinger (letter XV):* Cupio ex te cognoscere quomodo tibi probetur sordidula historiae narratiuncula. Argumentum sane erat, ut ex materia ipsa perspicere potuisti, dignum in quo aliquis artifex elaborasset. Sed quid facias? quando nullus eorum est qui cum laude istiusmodi argumenta tractare possint, qui manum admoveat. Certe voluntas nostra laudanda erit, etiamsi conatus non per omnia eruditorum auribus satisfaciat. Illud sane non possum non dolere, aliquid forte detractum esse dignitati rerum propter orationis tenuitatem et ordinem fortasse perturbatiorem. Utcunque sit, juvabit eruditioribus argumentum suppeditasse, et, si vita contingat, et aliquid melius a nobis praestari poterit, non negligemus occasionem. *Bullinger must have expressed his satisfaction, for Dryander replies on the 17th (letter XVI):* Fuissem tuis literis delinitus, nisi nota mihi esset mea tenuitas. Voluntas mihi non defuit, si parem habuissem dicendi facultatem. Sed juvabit extare quomodocunque scriptam istius exempli memoriam. Si vita longior contingat, non negligam aliam opportunitatem. *It is clear, that Dryander gives himself as the writer of the* Historia Diazii, *and Bullinger, who could not but understand this perfectly well, does not appear to have expressed any doubt about it. Gesner's* Bibliotheca, *enriched by Simler, Zurich 1574, states with authority, that the book was not written by Senarclens, but was attributed to him by the writer, and the style confirms Dryander's assertion (see above p. 147). As for Simler's supposition:* ut invidiam declinaret, *I am sure, Dryander's principal reason for eclipsing himself was the wish to make the narrative so much the more impressive when told by the eye-witness in the first person. Also in his book on the Netherlands he shows rhetorical art. And Senarclens had in fact no reason not to allow this procedure of his friend, more learned than himself, and serving a cause sacred to both of them.*

39) *Official papers*

on the steps, taken by the German Princes and States with the Emperor and the Roman king on the Diaz affair, are found in the Archives of the Saxon duchies at WEIMAR. I owe the following communications to the Master of the Rolls there, Dr. Burkhardt.

27 März schreiben die Statthalter aus Neuburg an die Regenten im Oberland versammelt, dass heute früh vor 5 Uhr der Mord geschehen. Juan Diaz ist mit einem pfeill *[= beil]* an der rechten Seite dermaassen in das Haupt verwundet worden, dass ihm das Hirn alsbald herausgefallen, und er in der 3ten Stunde mit Tod abgegangen. Viele eilen dem Mörder nach, dem Bürgermeister von Augsburg ist der Mord berichtet. Wir erfahren eben, dass des entleibten Bruder selbst bei ihm dem entleibten neben seinem Knecht gewesen ist; welcher aber unter ihnen die That gethan, kann man nicht wissen. Des Entleibten Gesell ist allererst aus seiner Schlafkammer gangen, wie die Thäter nach der That die Stiegen abgelaufen sein.

22 April instruiren die Neuburger Statthalter ihren Gesandten Gabriel Arnoldt, dass der Handel stättlich beratschlagt werde.

27 April 46 schreibt Wilhelm Vogt Dr. an die Statthalter zu Neuburg aus Inspruck, sich der Sache ernstlicher als bisher anzunehmen, weil der Bischof von Trient sich der Sache annimmt, denn in dieser Stunde ist meo judicio ein Trientischer Riphianer hier gewesen, der zu dem Mörder verlangt, aber nicht hineingelassen, sondern nur in Gegenwart von 3 Secretarien und ihm durch das Fenster lateinisch habe verhandeln dürfen. Es soll die Bewachung der Mörder gewechselt werden. Mittheilung über die Kosten: 5 Wächter 10 fl., die Gerichtspersonen 59 fl. 13 Kr.

28 April schreibt Ott Heinrich an den Landgrafen, dass derselbe seine Räthe am Reichstag wegen der Frage instruiren möge.

An demselben Tage Churfürst Friedrich aus Heidelberg an denselben.

5 Mai macht Philipp von Hessen an Churfürst Johann Friedrich von Sachsen Mittheilung von diesem Schreiben des Churfürsten Friedrich und Ott Heinrich's, und beantragt das Vorgehen des Reichstages beim Kaiser, indem er das Ausschreiben der Neuburger Regierung (26 Seiten) beilegt.

11 Mai. Churfürst Joh. Friedrich entspricht dem Hessischen Antrag. *The document in the Ducal library at Gotha,* Cod. chart. A n° 452, fol. 154. 155, *mentioned by Neudecker,* Merkwürd. Aktenstücke *1838, is a copy of this mandate of the 11th of* Mai. *The Gotha ms was copied for me by the archivist and librarian Dr. A. Beck, and collated by Dr. Burkhardt with the Weimar ms. The Gotha text is modernized. Seckendorf* comm. de Luth. *1692 (also 1694) p. 656—7, gives the essential contents of this mandate, as also of a letter of Duke Mauritius of Saxe to the Landgrave, dated 27th May.*

2 June. Supplication of the States of Ratisbon to the Emperor. The Weimar ms is a contemporary copy. It is printed here from a transscript sent me by Dr. Burkhardt (on some orthographic changes, it is here not worth while to say anything). I have added some few readings of a transscript taken by Professor W. Baum of Strassburg University from another contemporary copy (varying almost only in orthography); it has the inscription: Supplication der Augspurgischen Confessions und Religions verwandten Stende an die Rom. Key. M^t. des frommen ermordeten Johannis Diasii halber beschehen, *and begins with the fuller address:* Aller durchleuchtigster grossmechtigster unüberwindlichster Römischer Keyser allergnedigster Herr. *In my notes, B means Baum's transscript, W the Weimar transscript.*

Allergenedigister herr; unser genedigist genedig herrn und obern haben mit bekumertem beschwerlichem gemüte vermerkt, wellicher massen der Christlich und gelert man weiland Johann Diasius ain geborner Hispanier selliger, als sich derselb nach seinem abziehen von dem negst allhie gehaltenen Colloquio (in wellichem er einem dieser theils Colloquenten zugeordnet und also in E. K. M. geleit begriffen gewest) gegen Neuburg an der Tunaw gelegen zu verrichtung etzlicher gemeiner und Christlicher sachen begeben und sich daselbst wie auch an andern orten in seinem wandel und leben ehrlich und wol gehalten, in bemeldter statt Neuburg durch ein unmenschlich und erschrecklich mord, welliches sein leiblich bruder Alphonsus Diasius sampt seinem knechte an ihme betrüglich begangen, entleibt, wie auch nach demselben die beide thetter durch ihr geschwinde darvor bestellte anschlege ihrer empfliehen auf der post darvon getrachtet, doch aber aus sonderer Gottes verordenung ereilet und zu Inspruck durch statthalter und gemeiner landschaft regenten zu Neuburg diener einen zur fangnusz gebracht worden sein.

Und ob wol der R. K. M. unsers allergenedigisten herrn regirung zu Inspruck anfange in fanglicher einziehung der mörder, auch volgend auf erstgemeldter statthalter und gemeiner landschaft regenten zu Neuburg rechtmessiges anhalten ob sollicher erschrecklichen that nit unzeitlichs miszfallen empfangen und die thetter dem landgericht zu Sonnenberg im Inthal zu peinlichem rechten uberantworten, darauf auch der landrichter und ein ehrbar landgericht zwai urteil ergehen und publiciren lassen, so sein doch hoch und obgedacht unser genedigist genedig herrn und obern weiter berichtet, das der regirung zu Neuburg gesandten zu volnziehung diser sachen kein weiteren process erlangen mugen, sonder were ihnen zuletzt ein schreiben von E. K. M. an die regirung zu Inspruck ausgangen am dat. Dunkelspuhel den 4. Marcii*) nehst vorschinen haltends vorgelesen worden, des ungeverlichen inhalts: dieweil E. Kay. M. so vil berichts empfangen, das villeicht die sach anderer gestalt dann sie angegeben sein möcht, geschaffen das demnach die Kö. regirung alle angefangene process und handlung gegen gedachten Alphonso bis zu E. K. und der Rom. K. M. ankunft auf gegenwärtigen reichstag allhie, allda sich E. Kay. M. mit Ihrer K. M. zu unterreden gedechte, anstellen und von dannen Ihrer beider Kay. und Ko. M. bescheids gewarten sollten.

Dieweil nun Ihre Churf. F. G. und sie aus sollichem E. K. M. schreiben befinden, das dieselb ane zweifel diser that mit ungrund zu erledigung der thetter berichtet und derhalben in keinen zweifel stellen, da E. K. M. der wahrhaftigen bestendigen gelegenheit begangnes übels erinnert, das sie sich, als ein löblicher Keyser, beschützer der frumen und verfolger der bösen, zu diser Ihrer anstellung der process nicht allein nicht hette bewegen lassen, sonder vilmehr die verdinte ernstliche straff darinnen verfuget, so haben hoch gedacht unser genedigst genedig herrn und obern fur notwendig geachtet, uns auch ein solliches zu thun auferleget und bevolhen, E. K. M. dises unmenschlichen mordes mit grund der wahrheit zu berichten.

Und nemlich: als bemeldter Alphonsus Diasius mit seinem knechte und mordgesellen auf der post von Rom gegen Augspurg und von dannen hieher (seinen entleibten bruder Johannem Diasium zu suchen), und zuletzt, da er ihnen allhier nicht funden, gen Neuburg an der Tunaw gelegen kummen, hat er sich erstlich doselb gegen demselben seime bruder ganz freundlich und brüderlich in worten und werken bewisen, auch etzliche vil tage bei ihme zu Neuburg vorharret und sich

*) Martii *also in B. Read* Aprilis.

understanden, denselben mit vilen freundlichen ermanungen und bitten zu bewegen, sich widerumb in Italien, da er mit seinen von Gott empfangenen genaden mehr gutes dann in Deutzschland schaffen möcht, zu begeben.

Nachdem aber bemeldter Johannes Diasius dem Alphonso seinem brudern aus empfangem rathe etzlicher vorstendiger und gutherzigen personen dasselb geweigert, ist er nichts desto weniger mit angenohmener freundlichkeit von ihme abgeschieden, ihnen mit etzlichen cronen vorehret, mit verner anzeig, das er eilends gen Rom postiren müszt, wollt ihme aber jder zeit allen brüderlichen willen beweisen, ihme auch von Augspurg aus wider schreiben. Und hat sich also Alphonsus und sein knecht durch ainen burger von Neuburg gen Augspurg furen lassen, denselben furter widerumb nach seiner belohnunge heimgeschickt, mit dem begeren sich vor seinem hinwegfaren bei ihme dem Alphonso anzuzeigen, wie er dann gethan, dem postmaister in abwesen des Alphonsi sein abreisen zu erkennen gegeben, und wiewol ihme von demselbigen postmaister wider geantwortt, bemeldter Alphonsus wer noch vorhanden, aber gestern dermassen beweinet gewesen, das er nit schreiben kunt, derhalben möcht er wol wider heimziehen, so haben sich doch die bede thetter sampt ainem boten mit ainer Augspurgischen büchsen zu Augspurg aufgemacht, ihren weg wider auf Neuburg genohmen und underwegen in dem dorf Bothmesz ihr morgenmalzeit gehalten, alldo dann obgemeldter furmann und Alexin Morolt*) (wellicher mit dem Alphonso davor von Neuburg auf Augspurg gefahren) im wirzhaus daselbst sie die thetter ob der morgenmalzeit betretten. Darmit nun die thetter ihr fursetzlich mord unvorhindert und desto statlicher möchten vorbringen, ist Alphonsus dem furmann und Alexio Morolten**) bittlich angelegen, disen tag bei ihme zu Bothmesz zu verharren, mit dem erbieten, das er ihnen ihr zerung wollt ausrichten, welliches sie auf sollich bescheen ansuchen bewilliget und sich nichzit anders vorsehen, dann das die beide thetter bei ihnen daselbst bleiben sollten, so haben sie doch aber bald hernacher befunden, das Alphonsus und sein knecht ihre rosz zu Bothmesz stehen lassen, andere geruhete pferd entlehnet, auch der ende ein wolgeschliffen beil umb 15 batzen erkaufet und sich nach***) denselbigen tag von dem furman und dem Morolt†) aus dem bemeldten dorf Bothmesz gethan und ihr nachtleger in ainem dorf nahe bei Neuburg gelegen gehalten und sich nachgeends tages den 27 Marcii in der frue gen Neuburg in abwesens des mehrer theils von der regirung daselbst (wie ihme wol bewust gewesen) vorfuget, die pferd in der vorstatt gelassen, dem boten denen sie mitgefurt den rock mit der botenbüchsen, kappen und hut genohmen, den knecht darmit vorklaidet, und ist der herr und knecht alsobald in die statt gangen, der bot aber bei den pferden bliben. Wie nun sie beide in des bruders Johann Diasii herberg zu Neuburg auf dem platz gelegen kumen, hat sich der knecht hinauf in Johann Diasii gemach vorfuget, denselbigen aufwecken lassen, ihme volgends ainen brief uberantwortet, der herr aber ist mitler zeit am††) haus bemeldter herberg bei der thür dieselbige zu vorhuten belieben. Und wie derselb Johannes Diasius sollichen brief ane alle fursorge angefangen zu lesen, hat ihne der knecht (wie vormutlich underm lesen) mit vormeldten beihel hinderruck dergestalt in das haupt verwundet, das er gleich umbfallen und ihme das beil in dem kopf stecken bliben und bald darnach mit tod in Gott vorschieden ist. Nach volnbrachter sollicher mordthat sein sie bede mörder auf die pferd und in wenig stunden gen Augspurg, auch auf der vorhin bestellten post bis gen Inspruck gekummen, und sich die sachen ihrer niderlage und des furgenohmenen process

*) *B:* Moraldt. **) *B:* Moraldten. ***) *B:* noch. †) *B:* Moralt ††) *B:* im.

halb zugetragen, wie E. K. M. oben genedigst vormerkt, auch aus statthalter und regenten zu Neuburg gethanen bericht E. K. M. negst doselbst gegeben allenthalben weiter vernohmen haben, und E. K. M., so sie es fur notwendig achten würden, mit verner wahrer auffarung und umbstenden dargethan werden mag.

Demnach dieweil sich dann die sachen in massen wie itzt erzelt grundlich und wahrlich erhalten, der ehrlich man Diasius, wellicher von vil trefflichen leuten vorgemeldts seines besserlichen bescheidlichen und frommen wandels gute zeugnusz hatt, durch angezeigt fursetzlich vormessliche und unerhörte that im schein angenohmener bruderlicher trew in E. K. M. gegebnen geleit jemerlich und übel von seinem leiblichen bruder und seinem knecht ermordet, wie solliches im fall der mörder widersprechens zum rechten genugsam beweiszlich dargethan werden mag, so bitten E. Kay. M. wir anstatt hoch und obgedachter unserer genedigisten und genedigen herren und obern allerunderthenigist, E. K. M. wöllen sollichem unserm wahrhaftigen beweiszlichen und offenbaren berichte mehr denn jenen, die ane allen grund der wahrheit den handel anderer gestalt furtragen, glauben geben, solliche unmenschliche mord und übel an dem frommen Diasio begangen mit allen seinen wichtigen gelegenheiten und umbstenden und was aus vorbleibender straff im reich allenthalben fur beschwerliche nachreden und unrath ervolgen möchte genedigist erwegen, zu gemüt furen, und als das oberste haupt und beschirmer der gerechtigkeit zu rach und straff desselben die sachen, obgemeldten Ihrem genedigisten von Dunkelspuhel aus beschenen erbieten nach, dahin richten, auch bei der K.*) M. genedigist befurdern, darmit das angefangene recht in disem fall nicht gesperret, sondern würklich geoffenet, gegen den thettern wie recht vorfaren und sie andern zum exempel ihre vordinte straff und lohn also empfahn, das dardurch dise und dergeleichen sonderlich in deutzscher nation vor unerhörten mörderei furhutt und vor denselbigen meniglich so vil dester mehr in frid und ruhe wonen muge, wie dann hochgedacht unser genedigist und genedig herren, obern und wir E. K. M. zu demselbigen aus angebornen keiserlichen tugenden genaigt**) wissen. Das werden umb***) E. K. M. Ihre Churf. F. G. ꝛc. genaden †) und sie neben der belonung, die E. Kay. M. derhalben ane zweifel von Gott dem allmechtigen empfahen wirdet, in schuldiger gehorsam underthenigklich vordinen.

E. Ro. Ka. M.
allerunderthenigiste
gehorsame

der Churf. F. Graven Stett und Stend der Augspurgischen Confession und Religion rethe, gesandten und botschaften itzt auf gegenwärtigem Reichstag zu Regenspurg bei einander.††)

An Ro. Kay. May. unsern allergsten herrn.

6. Juni. Originalconcept. Die sächs. Räthe melden dem Churfürsten, dass sie dem Befehle gemäss (notabene der v. Minckwitz) am Mittwoch nächst verg. *[2 Juni]* bei K. May. wegen des Diaz Ermordung Audienz gehabt Dem Kaiser ist die Sache mündlich vorgetragen, wie in Abschrift beiliegt. (8 kleine Seiten, verfasst jedenfalls von v. Minckwitz, doch nur die Form ist eine andere als in der vorstehend

*) *B:* Kön.

**) *The word* genaigt *is found in B, in my transscript from the Weimar copy a blank is left in the place of this word.*

***) umb *in B; W has* vnns.

†) ꝛc., *which seems to be meant by a sign in B, is wanting in W;* genaden *is written only in W.*

††) versamblet *is added in B.*

mitgetheilten Supplicationsschrift.) Der Kaiser hat ihnen gegen Gebrauch die Hand beim Empfang und beim Abschied geboten. „Volgendes Dornstags ist die Ro. Ko. My., mit vermeldung was die Stende der Augspurgischen Confession bei R. K. May. suchen lassen und warumb dieselbe nicht zuvorn bei ihrer K. M. als der ordentlichen oberkeit zue Insbruck furgenommen, auch underthenigst angelangt worden, und das diese ursache angezeigt weil die Churfürsten und Stende der Augspurg. Confession vernommen das der peinliche process wider die mörder nicht von ihrer K. My., sondern durch das Kay. rescript ist zu ruehe gestellt, so hetten ihro Churf. F. G. und sie fur notwendig erwogen, das die Kay. M. anfangs derwegen underthenigst zu brichten und zu bitten sein sollte, inhalts ihrer K. M. ubergebenen supplicationsschrift, davon der K. M. gleichlautende copei uberandwortet worden. Was nun beide ihre Ky. und Kgl. Myten fur andwort gegeben, das werden E. Ch. F. G. innerwards befinden. Aber Herzog Moritz und die beide Markgrafen zu Brandenburg Herr Albrecht und Herr Johanns noch ihrer F. G. Rethe seint bei erwentem antragen und andworten, auch zuvorn in der beratschlagung dieser sachen nicht gewest, dann Herzog Moritz hatt sich erbotten fur sich selbst Kay. und Ko. May. hierumb anzulangen. So befinden wir diese Stende nicht vast geneigt Markgraf Albrechten zue diesen und dergleichen handlungen zue ziehen und Markgraf Hansen ist hivor auch kein meldung geschehen, ane das mochten villeicht E. F. G. one zuordenung der ihren nicht mangel haben sein lassen. welches etc. Datum Regenspurg am Sontag Exaudi *[6. Juni]* Anno XLVI. Rethe.

Inclosure: Uf den andern Juni anno 46 hat die Kay. May. uf der Churf. etc. mündlich furbringen und ubergeben Supplication in sachen Johannem Diasium belangende disse antwort gegeben. Ihr Kay. M. hette ihr antragen gehört und möge nicht ahne sein das I. My. auf etzlicher furbitt an die regirung zu Insbruck geschrieben, das sie bis zu Ihrer M. ankunft lieber weiter nicht verfaren sollten. No[ta:] Der Kayser hat bei dissen worten dem v. Naves eingeredt und wieder erzehlt. Es wurde auch aus solchem Ihrer M. schreiben anderst nicht befunden dan das sie die sachen anstehen lassen sollten bis zu ankunft der K. M. mit derselbigen ferner zu reden. Dieweil nun die Ko. M. allhie ankohmen, so wollt Ihr May. mit deren *[sic]* daraus reden und hierin ein gnedigs und billichs einsehen haben und mochten derhalben die rethe und gesandten bei der Ko. M. auch ansuchen.

Die Ro. Ko. May. hat das underthenig anbringen, so die stende der Augsburgischen Confession in namen ihrer gst. g. h. und obern von wegen der gefangenen so zu Isbruck einkohmen seint gehört. Und dieweil Ihr Ko. May. aus solchem ihrem underthenigen anbringen verstanden, das sie disse sachen an Kay. May. haben gelangen lassen, inhalt der schrift so sie Ihrer K. May. ubergeben, so wollt Ihre May. notturft erfordern, sich darin zu ersehen, welchs I. M. mit ehister gelegenheit thun und sich mit K. M. ferner underreden, auch volgends mit gebürlicher gnediger antwort vernehmen lassen. Actum d. 3 Juni.

Juan Diaz is a first class prohibited writer in Pius' IV Index, Dilingae 1564, fol. 26 (compare above here n° 121).

Summa.

152. 1546.

Christianae re- | ligionis Summa. | Ad illustrissimum Principem Do- | minum D. Ottonem Heinricum Pa- | latinum Rheni, & utriusq;

Ba- | uariæ Ducem &c. | *(An oval device: a female figure sewing letters from a sieve.)* | Per clarissimum uirum Ioannem | Diazivm Hispanum. | Neuburgi Danubij conscripta, III. Kalendas Martij. | Anno M.D.XLVI. | *Colophon:* Impressum Neuburgi Danubij apud Ioannem | Kilianvm, Principalis Quæsturæ | scribam. Anno M.D.XLVI. |

It begins on the reverse of the title. One sheet in octavo. On the whole in large Italic letters.

STRASSBURG Wilhelmit., FRANKFURT o. M. City, BODLEIAN.

153. 1546.

Christianae reli- | gionis Summa: | Ad illustrissimum Principem Dominum D. | Ottonem Heinricum Palatinum Rhe- | ni, & utriusq; Bauariae | Ducem, &c. | Ioanne Diazio Hispa- | no autore. | *Immediately under this, on the same page, begins the text of the* Summa, *which runs from fol.* m 2 *to* n 2 *first page. Appended to* Historia ... Diazij ... per ... Senarclaeum, *see n°* **121** *above.*

154. 1692.

Christianae Religionis Summa ... Joanne Diazio Hispano autore.

Reprinted in Viti Ludovici a Seckendorf Commentarius de Lutheranismo, *Francof. & Lps. 1692, p. 657—658.*

STRASSBURG Univ.

155. 1694.

The same in the second edition of Seckendorf's Commentary, Lps. 1694, p. 657—658.

It is actually a new print, as is evident from different divisions of lines, and from forms of letters and numbers.

STRASSBURG Univ., HALLE Univ.

In the German, in the Dutch and in the French Seckendorff, above n° **130**, *the* Summa *is not translated.*

156. 1763.

Joannis Diazii | Christianae Religionis | summa. |

From the Senarclens book in Scrinium antiquarium *t. VIII. pars I. 1763 [see above n°* **122**], *p. 465—471. With a few introductory remarks of Gerdesius p. 465.*

ZURICH City.

157. 1837.

Illustrissimo Principi Domino D. Ottoni Heynrico Palatino Rheni et utriusque Bavariae Duci et Domino suo clementissimo J. Diazius.

Dedication of the Summa, *wanting in the editions and translations of it and printed from the author's autograph for the first time in Illgens* histor. Zeitschrift, *Neue Folge, Bd. 1, 1837. Heft 3, S. 158—160, in an article of Georg Veesenmeyer, librarian of the city of Ulm:* Des evangelischen Märtyrers Johannes Diazius

Dedication seiner Schrift: Christianae religionis summa, *where there is also found p. 161—164*

a collation by Veesenmeyer of Diaz's ms. of the Summa with the first edition. Veesenmeyer says that the handwriting is quite equal to that of the notes added by Diaz's hand to the copy of the κανόνες τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν ἁγίων συνόδων preserved in the city library of Zurich (see above note 35). As for the omission of the dedicatory letter in the editions Veesenmeyer observes p. 158: ich vermuthe, der erste Herausgeber, welcher höchstwahrscheinlich Bucer ist, habe die Stelle in der Dedic., worin von dem Wegschaffen der Bilder aus den Kirchen als einem echten Kennzeichen der Reformation die Rede ist, für den Pfalzgrafen anstössig gefunden, welcher hierüber gar nicht Zwinglisch und Bucerisch dachte, und so auch die Stelle, worin von ecclesiis nondum hic in proximo satis reformatis gesprochen wird. Er wollte die Dedication also lieber ganz weglassen als verstümmelt geben. *After the death of Veesenmeyer, which occurred in 1833, the Original ms of Diaz's* Summa, *which belonged to him, was with other mss and books sold to the antiquarian Butsch at Augsburg. It is not in the city library of Ulm.*

The words on the title: clarissimum virum *show that Juan Diaz was not himself the editor. The expression of the preface of the Zurich translation (our n°* 158*):* sin Bekanntnusz des Christenlichen gloubens, die er vnlang vor sinem tod in Latinischer spraach durch den truck mengklichem zů låsen vnd vrteilen geben hat, *is not quite exact.*

German translations.

158. 1547. Zurich translation.

Der Gloub vñ | leer, ouch låben vnnd tod | des hochgeleertē gott-såligen Doctor | Johann Dietzen, vnd trüwen zügen | vnsers Herren Jesu Christi, der zů | Nüwburg an der Donow vonn sy- | nem lyblichē brůder ermürdt ist wor | den vm̃ des heiligen Christen- | lichen gloubens willen, am | XXVIJ. tag Mertzens, im | M. D. XLVj. Jar. | Getruckt zů Zürich by Chri- | stoffel Froschouer. |

After the title-leaf: Vorred *of the editor. Folio* [a 4] *second page begins* Ein Summ vnd kurtzer begriff des waren Christenlichen gloubens, gestelt vom̃ hochgeleerten vnd wirdigen herren Doctor Johañ Diazium, såliger gedåchtnusz. *Ends fol.* b V, *second page, where begins* Kurtze und warhaffte erzellung in Tütschē rymen des låbens vnd sterbens Herr Johan Dietzen . . . , *running to the end of the pamphlet. The last page is empty. Not paged, two sheets, octavo.*

STRASSBURG Wilhelm.

I think, this in the publication, to which Franc. Dryander refers in his letter to Bullinger, Nov. 3. 1546: A domino Theodoro postulabis summam confessionis fidei Diazii Latinam, quam ipse fecit Germanicam. *Theodorus no doubt is Bibliander, and* ipse *is of course the same. This translation is not found in the list of Bibliander's publications in Lau's* Schweitzer. Lexicon, *Theil 4, Zurich 1750, p. 12 f.*

The verses refer to a cut (Ein einigen brůder hat er gehan, Wie man jn hie gemalt sicht ston), *which according to all likelyhood never belonged to this edition, and are therefore most likely reprinted from a separate edition containing a cut on the title-leaf. The last facts mentioned are the Emperor's answer at Ingol-*

stadt (April 8), and the general opinion in Germany: man werd die schelmen lassen gon.

Strassburg translation.

159. 1554.

ein kurtzer Sum̃arischer begriff Christlicher Religion, so von disem vnserm theürē Bekenner vñ Martyrer Joañi Diazio, an den Durchleüchtigstē Hochgebornen Fürsten vnnd Herren, Herren Ottoheinrichen Pfaltzgraffen bey Rhein, ꝛc. Schrifftlich gestellet worden ist.

In Rabus' Historien, Ander Theyl, *1554, [see here n°* **124***], fol.* CCC — CCCV. *The translation is independant from the Zurich one [n°* **158***].*

160. 1555.

In Rabus' Ander Theyl, *1555, [see here n°* **124***, my copy] the same on the same leaves.*

161. 1556.

In Rabus' Ander Theil 1555—6 *[see here n°* **124***], the same on the same leaves.*

162. 1572.

In Rabus' edition of 1572 [see here n° **124***] the same on fol. 706 verso — 708.*

163. 1606.

In Gross Martyrbuch. MDCVI. *Fol. [above n°* **126***] the Summa is given in Rabus' translation, somewhat altered.*

164. 1617.

The same as 1606 in Gross Martyrbuch. MDCXVII. *Fol. [above n°* **126***].*

165. 1682.

The same in Das Grosse Martyr-Buch. M. DC. LXXXII. *[above n°* **126***] P.* 326 — 328.

French translation *(see above n°* **126***).*

166. 1565.

Confession de foy, qui est vn sommaire de la religion Chrestienne *in* Actes des martyrs, M. D. LXIIIII. *P. 252 — 5.*

167. 1570.

The same in Histoire des vrays Tesmoins. M. D. LXX. *Fol. 159. 160.*

168. 1582.

The same in Histoire des martyrs. M. D. LXXXII. *Fol. 167. 168.*

169. 1597.

The same in Histoire des martyrs. M. D. XCVII. *Fol. 167. 168.*

170. 1608.

The same in Histoire des martyrs. M. DC. VIII. *Fol. 167. 168.*

171. 1619.

The same in Histoire des martyrs. M. DC. XIX. *Fol. 179. 180.*

In the Rhaeto-romance translation of the Geneva martyrology [above n° **126***] and in the Dutch* Historie der martelaren 1747 *[above n°* **128***] the* Summa *of Diaz is not translated.*

172. 1865. Spanish translation.

Summa de la relijión Cristiana.

Usóz's translation, p. 99—106 of t. XX of the Reformistas antig. Esp. (*above n°* **123**).

Letters

173. 1667.

Occhino Joannes Diaz, Neoburgi 22 martii 1546. *Printed in Latin in* Historiae ecclesiasticae novi testamenti t. IX, authore Jo. Henr. Hottingero, *Tiguri 1667, p. 282-3. Octavo.*

HALLE Univ.

174. 1764.

The same reprinted from Hottinger, on p. 996—7 *of* Johann Georg Schelhorns, || Ergötzlichkeiten | aus der | Kirchenhistorie | und Literatur, || Zehendes Stück. | × | Ulm, 1764. || *Octavo.*

HALLE Univ.

175. 1865.

Three Latin letters

IV. 1546 Febr. 8 Falesio
VIII. — Mart. 13 Calvino
IX. — — 22 Ochino *[third edition]*

in Reform. Espań. *t. XX, p. 120—126. 112.*

The numbers, which I, here and in the following, have given to Diaz's letters, relate to the chronological order.

176. 1872.

Two Latin letters

VI 1546 Febr. 9. Paulo Fagio
VII — *on the same day* Praesuli *[Bellaio]*

edited by Edw. Boehmer on p. 1—10 of the program of Strassburg University, December 1872 (see above n° **150**).

177. 187..

Four Latin letters to Calvin

I. [1545] August 7
II. [—] — 29
III. 1546 January 19
V. — February 9

will soon be published, together with the other five already printed, in the Thesaurus epistolicus Calvinianus *edited by the Strassburg theologians.*

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